



Vol. 3, No 27

May 23-29, 1979

70 Cents

ENERGY FAIR

They laughed
when I sat
down at my
alcohol
distillation
system.

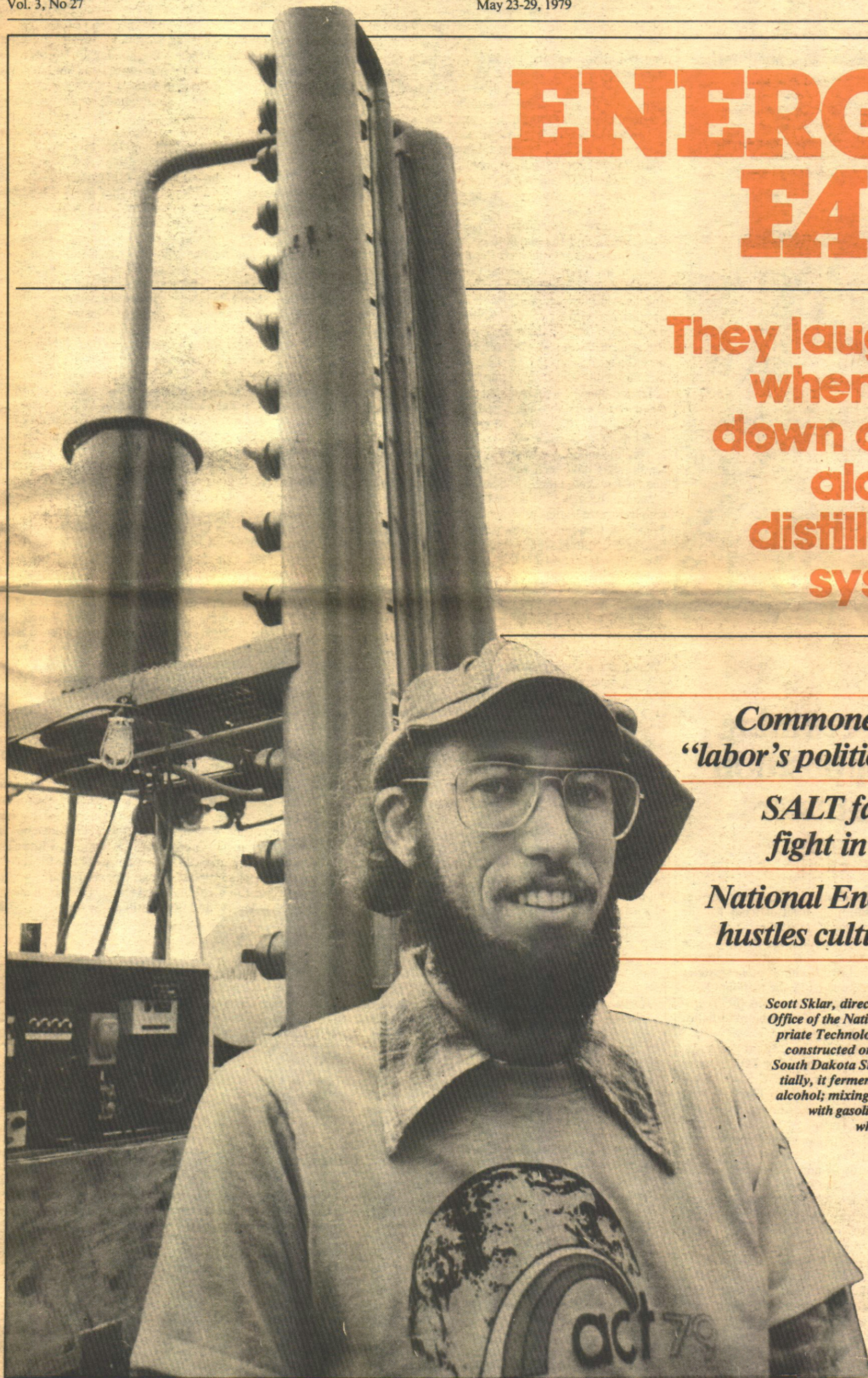
PLUS

*Commoner calls for
“labor’s political party”*

*SALT faces uphill
fight in Congress*

*National Endowment
hustles culture bucks*

Scott Sklar, director of the Washington Office of the National Center for Appropriate Technology, sits before the still constructed on site by students from South Dakota State University. Essentially, it ferments corn into 192 proof alcohol; mixing this on a 1-to-10 ratio with gasoline, it provides gasohol, which can power any car without alterations.



Lionel Delavigne

THE INSIDE STORY



TDU becoming main opposition in Teamsters

By Mike Kelly

Claiming credit for the victories and blaming corrupt and incompetent International union officials for the defeats in the freight contract settlement, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) has for the first time assumed undisputed leadership of the rank and file rebellion in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

(The 300,000 Teamsters covered by the National Master Freight Agreement negotiated between the Teamsters and trucking employers are voting by mail ballot on the proposed contract.)

"TDU is growing like a prairie fire," said Ken Paff, National Secretary and spokesman for TDU's more than 4,000 members in 35 chapters in the U.S. and Canada. Paff attributed the new growth to TDU's role in the ten-day freight lockout and strike and the one-month long steel haulers strike in April.

"Our chapters gained more experience and became real centers of strike leadership," said Paff.

Key to TDU's new growth and dynamism was its role in the steelhaulers strike. Jim Reese of Akron, Ohio, a member of Teamster Local 377 told IN THESE TIMES, "We definitely won a victory. We proved steelhaulers would strike together, both owner operators and company drivers."

This was perhaps the biggest victory of the strike—the solidarity of drivers who own their own tractors and trailers and lease their services to the employers and of wage earning drivers who operate equipment owned by the trucking companies. In the past, owner operators and company drivers often scabbed on each other's strikes, "We were cutting each other's throats," said one long-time driver.

Rival organizations, each claiming to represent the

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real interests of the ranks, complicated the situation. Mike Parhurst, publisher of *Overdrive* magazine, organized Roadmasters and called strikes that often went unobserved. Bill Hill of FASH (the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) has fought for ten years to lead his dissident troops out of the IBT. Later the Professional Drivers Council—PROD—was organized among road drivers, some of them owner operators.

The employers and sometimes Teamsters officials played on the divisions among the steel haulers. In particular, International officers and even local union officials showed little understanding and less sympathy for the problems of owner operators who were contemptuously referred to as "gypsies."

But TDU, emphasizing rank-and-file solidarity of all Teamsters against the greed of the employers for whom all drivers work, was able to create the solidarity that could win against the pressures from the Teamsters International and the hard-nosed steelhaulers' employers. Some 8,000 steel haulers followed TDU's lead, several hundred holding daily strike meetings in Canton, Ohio, Pittsburgh, Pa., and other cities.

Jim Reese explained that the Iron, Steel and Special Commodity Rider, "has always been a stepchild of the National Master Freight Agreement. Frank Fitzsimmons himself (Teamster president) has said that the steel rider was a bonanza for the companies that were getting rich off of it."

Mel Packer, a member of Teamsters Local 249 in Pittsburgh, said the steelhaulers in Pennsylvania and Ohio discussed and debated the FASH and TDU positions on the Teamsters during the course of the strike. (FASH has given up trying to reform the Teamsters and calls upon steelhaulers and other drivers to leave the IBT and allow FASH to be their collective bargaining agent. TDU, on the other hand, calls for rank-and-file reform of the Teamsters, urging the members to take the union into their own hands and oust corrupt, incompetent and unresponsive leaders.)

Packer said, "We explained that we in TDU would work with FASH as long as FASH supported the strike and didn't try to organize to get out of the union. We had a meeting of some 400 drivers and only 14 were for leaving the union. Because this was the first strike these steelhaulers have seen where there was real solidarity, people now realize that it is possible to change the union."

"Since the strike," Packer said, "some of the people who were barn leaders got a sense of rank-and-file power. There's a turnover of stewards and some TDU members are becoming stewards at companies like McNicholas, Interstate, and Zeffrio. Not that all the old stewards were bad—they weren't, but new leaders are coming forward. And at other companies, like Astro, the stewards are joining TDU."

The strike shut down virtually all steel moving by truck east of Chicago and north of the Mason-Dixon line, forcing lay-offs in steel mills and causing desperation among steel customers. As a result, the steelhaulers covered by one of the 32 supplements to the freight agreement won their two principal demands: (1) a return to the pre-1976 method of payment whereby fleet drivers earn 26 percent of the full freight rate and owner operators earn 75 percent of the full freight rate, and (2) six days pay for sick days they had coming from previous contracts.

Another aspect of the steelhaulers' strike is the effect it is having on at least a few local Teamster officials. In Local 800, a local of steelhaulers and dump truck drivers in 29 western Pennsylvania counties, the strike has divided the executive board.

When the strike began April 1 it was a wildcat that tested the loyalty of local officials who could either support the unofficial strike or go with the International's attempt to end the strike. In Local 800, the secre-

tary-treasurer Charles Carelli and Trustee George McCartney went with the TDU-led rebellion—and now they may be in hot water. The four other members of the executive board (one of the seven seats is vacant) are now demanding that the local be thrown into trusteeship because of "arguing and fighting" in the local executive board meetings.

While the Eastern Conference and the International have not yet responded to the call for trusteeship, some fear the International may use this as an opportunity to purge the local officials and the local union of dissidents. The ability to split local leaderships over the strike will be an index of the strength of the rank-and-file movement and of TDU.

While the International may be preparing its reprisals, the ranks are consolidating their victories. Reese said that the biggest thing to come out of the strike was SHOC—the Steel Haulers Organizing Committee that will bring together owner operators and company drivers. "With SHOC," said Reese, "we'll be prepared for them the next time. We'll be meeting every month or two to be better organized for the next contract."

While the steelhaulers strike was definitely a rank-and-file victory, the national freight settlement was a defeat. Paff called the contract "bad, very bad."

"They [Fitzsimmons and the other negotiators] won less in wages," said Paff, "than they did in 1976, even though inflation is much worse now. And the strike was really over the cost of living clause—but what they got is about 90 percent in favor of the employers and 10 percent for the members. We also lost on non-economic issues, grievances, conditions and jobs. Some clauses were just give-aways, like the clause on casuals."

(The settlement calls for a monetary package estimated at 30 percent. The wage gain is \$1.50 over three years. The cost of living formula is \$.01 for every 2.3 percent rise in the index, which is estimated at 6 percent per year, plus \$30 per week in increased payments into the health, welfare and pension funds over three years. Teamsters gave up \$.50 per hour differential for casuals. New Short Haul and Cartage Committees will be able to write substandard agreements for employers who claim they cannot compete under the terms of the freight agreement.)

While there is no official result yet, it is taken for granted by employers, union officials and dissidents that the tentative settlement will be accepted. It requires a two-thirds majority to reject a contract under the Teamster constitution. Paff indicated that lack of democracy made a fair discussion and vote unlikely. But "in meetings where the members have been allowed to discuss it, it has been rejected," said Paff. "And the members have voted against it where there was discussion allowed." Paff also felt the mail ballot counted by the International rather than local union ratification meetings helps the union leadership sell their settlement.

The freight settlement, a defeat for the ranks, is likely to fuel the flames of rebellion. It is another incentive for reform, another indication of the need for a rank-and-file movement. At this point, it seems that the Teamster International can't win, for every victory encourages the ranks to challenge both the employers and the officials—and win. And every defeat demands that the ranks be organized to turn the defeat into victory. And so TDU grows, win or lose.

The test for TDU now is to translate its dynamic leadership in a strike situation into political victories in local unions, particularly in the major industrial cities of the Midwest and the two coasts. So far, reformers have taken top office or won control of local executive boards in smaller cities—Green Bay, Oklahoma, Flint. The Teamster rank-and-file movement will have turned the big corner when dissidents can win control of a major freight local in a city like Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago or in New Jersey, and that is still a way off.

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SALT II may bomb in Senate

By Patrick Laceyfield

POLITICIANS AND DIPLOMATS have been talking about stopping the arms race since it began. Last week, the debate over the new strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II) began prior to the treaty signing June 15 in Vienna between President Carter and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev.

The pact, dubbed by the Soviets as "a moment of great historical significance" and by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance as "an essential step toward a safer America and a safer world," is the result of seven years of negotiations over three administrations. Now, with the prospect of a bitter fight over ratification by a two-thirds majority in the Senate, the Carter administration faces its strongest challenge on foreign policy since taking office, with implications that may well reflect on the 1980 presidential campaign.

The Treaty.

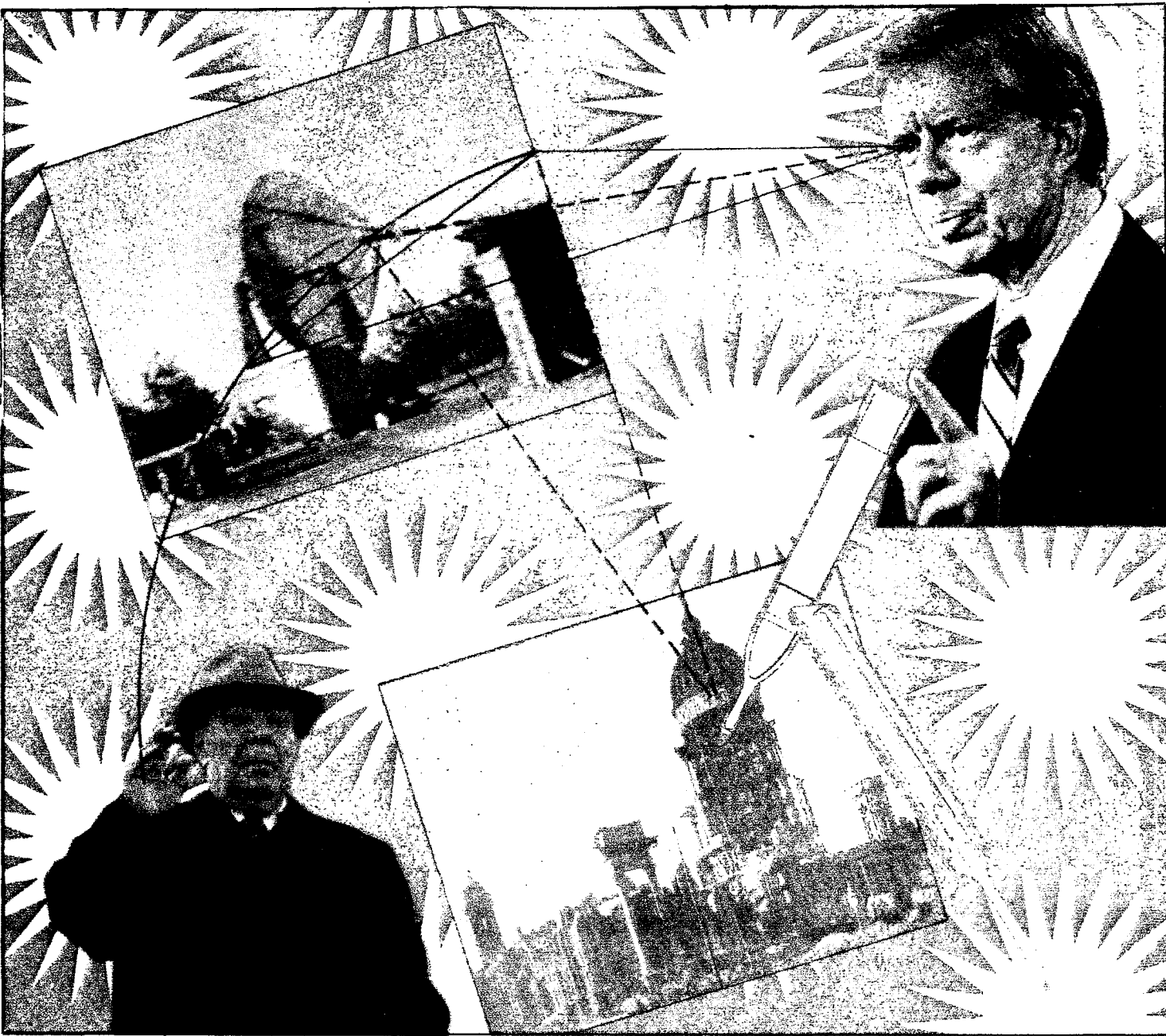
The treaty package numbers more than 100 pages and consists of three separate sections. The first is the preamble, outlining a laundry list of general principles to guide the two powers into the next stage of strategic arms talks. The five-year treaty itself contains 19 articles and sets limitations on strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (land-based ICBMs, submarine-launched missiles, and strategic bombers). The protocol, of three years duration, bans the deployment of mobile missiles and sea and ground-launched cruise missiles until the end of 1981.

When SALT I was signed by President Nixon and Premier Brezhnev in 1972, the U.S. arsenal of deliverable nuclear warheads totaled 6,784 to the Soviet Union's 2,200. SALT I limited each side to two antiballistic missile (ABM) sites with 200 missiles each (later reduced to one site and 100 ABMs) and mandated a porous ceiling on offensive strategic weapons that allowed both sides to increase their arsenals.

The Vladivostok understanding reached by President Ford and Brezhnev in November 1974 established a ceiling of 2,400 missile launchers and bombers with a sublimit of 1,320 of those launchers allowed to be MIRVed (MIRVs are multiple warheads on a single launcher, capable of being independently targeted). Ford, however, under pressure from Ronald Reagan in the 1976 Republican presidential primaries, chose not to submit the Vladivostok agreement for ratification by the Senate. Consequently, the task of negotiating a SALT II treaty fell to the Carter administration, which, along with the Soviets, continued to adhere to the SALT I strictures after that treaty lapsed in October 1977.

The Carter administration proposed in March 1977, amidst fanfare from both congressional conservatives and liberals alike, a so-called "deep cut" plan under which the Soviets would reduce their arsenal by 700 launchers (as opposed to a reduction of 300 in U.S. forces). The proposal would also have given the green light to U.S. production of the B-1 bomber, Trident submarine and cruise missiles, while shifting arms competition to sea-based missiles, where the U.S. holds a vast quantitative and qualitative advantage. This plan, not surprisingly, was denounced by the Soviets as "one-sided" and characterized by American arms control experts as "born to lose"—suggesting Carter was playing politics.

Now, in 1979, with the U.S. having increased its arsenal to 9,550 deliverable nuclear warheads as opposed to the Soviet increase to about 8,000, SALT II takes the first, if somewhat halting, steps toward limiting numbers of warheads as well as of launchers. Each side would be required to reduce its force to 2,250 launchers by 1981, forcing the Soviets to destroy about 250 outmoded delivery systems and allowing the U.S. to add approximately 150 launchers. Of the 2,250 launchers, no more than 1,320 may carry MIRVs (including B-52 bombers outfitted with cruise missiles). Another sublimit allows each side only 820 MIRVed ICBMs. Both nations would get the go-ahead to develop new ICBMs and for the first time SALT would limit the number of warheads per launcher to ten for land-based ICBMs, 14 warheads for sea-launched missiles and 20 cruise missiles per B-52 bomber. Despite these limitations, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union would be allowed under SALT II to increase their arsenal of deliverable nuclear warheads to 13,800 and 9,000 respectively.



The Carter administration is trying to sell SALT II by showing that its rejection will raise defense expenditures by \$3 billion over ten years. But Senate hawks, who are only six votes short of denying its ratification, are not buying Carter's argument.

chters by 1981, forcing the Soviets to destroy about 250 outmoded delivery systems and allowing the U.S. to add approximately 150 launchers. Of the 2,250 launchers, no more than 1,320 may carry MIRVs (including B-52 bombers outfitted with cruise missiles). Another sublimit allows each side only 820 MIRVed ICBMs. Both nations would get the go-ahead to develop new ICBMs and for the first time SALT would limit the number of warheads per launcher to ten for land-based ICBMs, 14 warheads for sea-launched missiles and 20 cruise missiles per B-52 bomber. Despite these limitations, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union would be allowed under SALT II to increase their arsenal of deliverable nuclear warheads to 13,800 and 9,000 respectively.

The battle for ratification.

Far from Nixon's claim of a "generation of peace" after the SALT I accord and Henry Kissinger's boast of "putting a cap on the arms race" with the Vladivostok understanding, the Carter administration is adopting a strategy of "lowered expectations" in selling SALT II to the Senate. A State Department spokesman, echoing recent statements by Secretary of Defense Brown, Secretary of State Vance and White House advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, told IN THESE TIMES, "We aren't saying that SALT II will usher in a new era of detente with the Soviets or

make more than a modest dent in the arms race." But, he cautioned, "look what will happen in the absence of SALT."

The effect of a rejection of SALT II is the trump card in the administration's deck. "If SALT fails," Defense Secretary Harold Brown testified before a Senate committee, "we will require a \$3 billion increase in strategic defense spending for each of the next ten years and defense expenditures over the next decade will exceed \$1 trillion." The Senate Budget Office, in an even more apocalyptic prediction, estimates \$100 billion in additional military spending over the next 15 years should SALT be defeated. "Without SALT," says Paul Warnke, former head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief SALT negotiator, "there is no reason to think the Soviets will stop at 308 SS-18s (a Soviet "heavy" missile) with ten MIRVs each or that they would stop short of 3,000 strategic launchers." With Brezhnev in ill health and a new generation of Soviet leaders on the horizon, administration spokespersons see SALT as a key element in preserving continuity in U.S./Soviet relations.

President Carter has taken great pains, moreover, to emphasize that SALT II is entirely compatible with American security and allows for substantial flexibility in developing and deploying systems like the Trident submarine, Mark 12A ICBM

Continued on page 6.

IN SHORT



"People's radiation monitor"

"The delicate little flowering plant Tradescantia—the spiderwort—is being enlisted as a biological indicator of radiation emitted from nuclear power plants in the U.S., Japan and Europe."

The spiderwort whose blue cels of the stamen hairs turn pink in proportion to the dose of radiation it receives, is being looked upon as a "people's radiation monitor." The plant has been the focus of special attention in the wake of the near-catastrophic nuclear accident at Three Mile Island nuclear facility in Pennsylvania.

Japanese geneticist Sadao Ichikawa believes the Spiderwort is "the most excellent test system ever known for low-level radiation." The color changes in the plant can be observed most efficiently 12 to 14 days after exposure to radiation.

An experiment in which 40 of the spiderwort KU 7 clones were planted in nine different locations in Hamaoka, Japan, to monitor a 540-megawatt boiling water nuclear power plant using the spiderwort system demonstrated that the increase in the frequency of spiderwort mutations correlated with the operation period of the reactor. In addition, the mutants increased in reference to their location—whether they were planted on the downwind side of the power plant and the distance from the reactor.

Dr. Ichikawa was on the team at Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island that developed the monitoring system in the late '60s. Victor P. Bond, a radiation specialist and associate direc-

tor of Brookhaven, points to a number of experimental difficulties in Dr. Ichikawa's approach. The biological basis for the color changes and the implication for human health are not yet fully understood, he said. Environmental pollution can cause the same changes to occur in Tradescantia as radiation exposure, making it impossible to determine the effects, if any, of the radiation alone.

Ichikawa believes that because the basic life processes are similar in all living organisms, radiation-induced plant mutations may well indicate that mutation has been occurring in human beings as well. He also believes that power-plant startup and shutdown, wind direction and spiderwort proximity all correlate too closely with periods and locations of high mutation frequency to be readily explained by nonspecific, non-radiation environmental factors.

The advantage of using the spiderwort to detect low-level radiation is that unlike the Geiger counter the spiderwort takes up radiation internally. The mechanical instruments monitor only a part of the dose actually absorbed by living organisms. Dr. Ichikawa said that the critical principle underlying the spiderwort strategy is that mechanical measurements have no meaning in terms of the effect of radiation on humans. The spiderwort can alert people to the existence and the dangers of low-level radiation, which also causes cancer, though the incubation period is many years, often decades.

—Laura Cianci

NATION

Progressive runs into DOE door

CHICAGO—The Federal Department of Energy hastily reclassified a nuclear document previously available to the public and restricted public access to the government library at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories in New Mexico early this month.

Erwin Knoll, publisher of *The Progressive* accused the government of "going to any limit to halt us" in publishing a story detailing the workings of hydrogen bomb.

Knoll, in a case before the U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago, is appealing an order from a Milwaukee federal judge enjoining him from publishing the article.

To demonstrate his contention that all material contained in the article is available to the public, Knoll and ACLU attorneys hired a researcher to compile information about nuclear weapons that could be found in the public domain.

Dimitri Rotow, a 23-year-old Harvard University student on leave, was sent to Los Alamos to find information that was available to the general public.

"He did not go there to find anything secret," said ACLU attorney George Kan-

nar. He had no security clearance. He is just like you and me, only smarter."

Rotow, who was working in the Los Alamos library, had photocopied several pages of a declassified report and left them with other materials on a library table overnight. When Rotow returned the next day all evidence of the report had disappeared.

According to Jim Bishop, an Energy Department spokesperson in Washington, library officials noticed the copies and, he said, discovered that the material had been declassified in error. Bishop said he could not explain how the error occurred.

Laboratory director, Robert Thorne and assistant energy secretary for defense programs Duane Sewell made the decision to restrict access to the library.

Los Alamos library will be restricted in its use until government declassifiers can go through its contents for other possible errors in declassification, said Bishop. He said people can select titles from the card catalog and, if a security officer approves the selection, library personnel will retrieve the book.

Speaking to the Headline Club in Chicago last week, Knoll commented on the order restraining *The Progressive* from publishing the article. "We have an official secrets act in the Atomic Energy Act that has gone unchallenged for 25 years. We're kidding ourselves about our own vigilance about the First Amendment if we do not challenge this case," he said.

He told the audience that the Ameri-

can Newspaper Publishers Association had decided the week before to file an amicus brief for *The Progressive*. When asked by IN THESE TIMES why he thought the government had entered this first restraint of publication order in U.S. history, he replied that he thought "the government saw, in going after us, a way to get some law. The establishment press would not kick up a fuss for a little, left-wing magazine as they would for one of their own, and the government could get a precedent that would shore up their powers of censorship."

"Furthermore," he added, "the government is intent on preserving what they see as the magic of secrecy. That mystique of secrecy is worth holding onto for them. It enables them to do what they want."

—Laura Cianci



William Winpisinger

Winpisinger launches coalition

LONG ISLAND, N.Y.—One of the Nation's most outspoken labor leaders, William P. Winpisinger, will launch the Long Island Progressive Coalition (LIPC) on June 5.

The program will feature full employment, national health security, a solution to the energy crisis, enactment of ERA and meaningful civil rights and economic justice.

Professor Aron, executive director of the Long Island Coalition for Full Employment, said, "Long Island's future is directly affected by these national issues."

Winpisinger, president of the 960,000-member International Association of Machinists and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, will outline the new program titled "A Strategy for a New Majority: A People's Platform for the 1980s," in Melville, N.Y.

Winpisinger will be introduced by Michael Harrington, chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and author of *The Other America*.

The coalition was initiated by Machinists Suffolk Lodge 1470 and the DSOC chapters in Nassau and Suffolk.

—Laura Cianci

Kennedy's big lead over Carter

BOSTON—In a poll conducted in New Hampshire, scene of the nation's first 1980 presidential primary, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) was leading President Carter by 22 percent of the vote, according to the *Boston Globe*.

The New Hampshire poll, conducted by Research Analysis, showed Carter leading California Gov. Edmund Brown Jr., but it showed Brown stronger than he has been in previous trials against the President.

The poll indicated that if the New Hampshire primary, which traditionally has great influence in picking presidential nominees, were held today Kennedy would win with 58 percent of the Democratic vote.

Kennedy has said consistently that he does not plan to challenge Carter.

Republican voters chose former California Gov. Ronald Reagan as their choice for president in 1980. Reagan narrowly lost the New Hampshire primary in 1976 to then President Gerald Ford. Reagan, who has not formally announced his candidacy, is the man to beat with 44 percent of the GOP vote. However, if Ford were to run for president this time, the survey indicated he could defeat Reagan.

The *Globe* said that if Kennedy publicly disavows a write-in campaign Carter would receive 49 percent of the Democratic votes cast in New Hampshire.

—Laura Cianci

WORLD

U.S.-China trade agreement

PEKING—The first formal trade agreement between the U.S. and China was initialed last week. China's Foreign Trade Minister, Li Quiang, initialed the pact in Peking and then had the agreement flown to Canton, where U.S. Commerce Secretary Juanita M. Kreps was concluding her two-week visit, for her initials.

Kreps, who had signed a claims-asset settlement in Peking on Friday, the last obstacle to the trade pact initialed this week, said the agreement still must be approved by Congress.

The claims-asset agreement required China to pay \$80.5 million to Americans whose property or funds were seized when Communists took control of the country in 1949.

The agreement, which could bring a trade boom between the two countries, would establish "a framework for orderly trade and business, provide reciprocal most-favored-nation status and eliminate a major obstacle to granting of official credits to China," said Kreps.

In addition, she said, the pact would greatly increase business contacts through trade exhibits and assist small and medium-sized companies in their efforts to conduct business with China.

Sources in Kreps's delegation, indicated that congressional approval of the agreement could be expected by the end of the year.

—Laura Cianci

U.S. recalls Chile ambassador

The U.S. recalled its ambassador to Chile, George Landau, following a ruling of Chilean Supreme Court's chief justice Israel Borquez denying the U.S. request for extradition of three former secret police (DINA) officials accused of conspiring to assassinate Orlando Letelier, Chilean ambassador to the U.S. during the Allende regime, and his colleague at the Institute for Policy Studies, Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

States Department spokesman Hodding Carter said the U.S. is "gravely disappointed" at the decision and that a full review of U.S.-Chilean relations will take place. Senators Ted Kennedy and Frank Church, in a letter to President Carter, urged suspension of all military and economic assistance, credit and deliveries of material now in the pipeline; denial of all bilateral and multilateral aid to Chile because it "harbors international terrorists"; and recall of all U.S. military personnel from Chile and the denial of visas to Chilean military and intelligence personnel.

Seattle unions get tough with bank

By Michelle Celarier

SEATTLE

AT SEATTLE FIRST NATIONAL Bank (Seafirst) annual stockholders' meeting last month, board chairman William Jenkins gave what he called a "glorious" financial report. Assets have reached \$7 billion; profits are up 30 percent.

But a boycott of the largest unionized bank in the country, officially begun the next day, may signal a different portent for 1979. Using their financial clout as a last resort in labor negotiations, Washington state unions say they will pull as much as \$2 billion in checking deposits and pension trust funds out in the next three months.

The stockholders' meeting was the final straw for the trade unionists, whom Jenkins labeled "destructive terrorists." Some 50 union supporters were at the meeting holding shareholder proxies that allowed them to raise a ruckus in the normally perfunctory proceedings. And when their "requests" for bank recognition of the Retail Clerks as the bargaining agent for the employees and a return to negotiations as has been ordered twice by the NLRB were gavelled down, the Retail Clerks sent out the word to over 50 unions statewide who pledged last fall to withdraw their money.

"Don't let our voice be stilled. Pull your funds now," the Retail Clerks wrote in a letter shortly after the annual affair. Within a week over \$2 million from 15 unions came out of the bank. The union says that, so far, \$36 million has been withdrawn, much of it in certificates of deposit taken out as they matured, or in trust funds Seafirst managed.

What began two years ago as contractual negotiations between Seafirst and its "employee association," essentially a company union begun by the bank to stave off the 1930s Teamster organizing drives, has mushroomed into a national struggle to unionize the mostly female, poorly paid and rapidly growing financial sector.

To give in to the union at this point, said Jenkins, "would be a signal to unions everywhere to have at it." He noted that the bank's union problems have earned national media attention, a disconcerting fact to the twenty-second largest bank in the country.

The stockholders' meeting came on the heels of a NLRB decision in favor of the union that the Retail Clerks had been waiting for before announcing a full-scale boycott.

Last spring, the bank contested Seafirst's independent union's affiliation with the Retail Clerks International. The union affiliated after Seafirst broke off negotiations in November 1977 and unilaterally implemented a contract, with a hefty pay raise, that eroded the union's rights—Seafirst's first NLRB violation.

Though the bank claimed all employees should have been allowed to vote on the affiliation, whether or not they were union members, the NLRB disagreed. In its most recent decision, the board said the affiliation was an "internal" union matter that could be decided only by members of the Financial Institutions Employees of America (FIEA), formerly the First-Bank Independent Employee Association.

"Who's the National Labor Relations Board? They're just a bunch of guys. They're not God," Jenkins told reporters after the meeting when questioned about his refusal to abide by its decision. Having

traversed all the way to Washington, D.C. (via the NLRB) without winning, Seafirst now says it will go to the courts.

It's also asking that the FIEA agree to a "union representative election" by all bank workers.

"This is just grandstanding," says FIEA president Nancy Holland, "We're the certified bargaining agent." She claims Seafirst is clouding the issue of bad faith bargaining on Seafirst's part.

A new election would be a *de facto* decertification election, which the bank can't legally request because of its outstanding NLRB complaints. In the event of such an election, FIEA officials told **IN THESE TIMES**, the union's chances of winning are slim. Only a little over half of Seafirst's employees have joined the union, and only slightly over half of those voted for the affiliation: 25 percent of the bank workers.

But in this management-oriented and virtually unorganized industry, the union's progress has been remarkable. Their credibility rose prior to the 1977 contract negotiations, after successful arbitration of grievances of sexual and racial discrimination. And the union's growing militancy was one reason for Seafirst's harsh stance in contract negotiations. The FIEA was beginning to act like a union, and Seafirst didn't like it.

Since negotiations ceased, says former



Union supporters demonstrating outside Seafirst Bank's annual stockholders meeting.

Seafirst employee Holland, the bank has denied the union access to employee records and hindered their contact with new workers—an essential organizing tool due to high turn-over in the bank.

At the same time, Seafirst has amassed a great anti-union effort. In a pamphlet handed out to new employees, which stockholders also received, the bank claims the issue *vis-a-vis* the Retail Clerks' affiliation is "freedom of choice."

The FIEA/Retail Clerks originally hoped the outside support and financial pressure would force Seafirst to the bargaining table, but now it looks as though they will have to wait for a decision from the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals—a process that may take another two years. Confident that the courts will rule in their favor, the FIEA is still hopeful of negotiating a contract with Seafirst.

Though organizing the banking industry was the union's first wish, the trouble

with Seafirst has inspired action on another front: a union bank, whose money could be invested in unionized, socially useful endeavors.

The County Labor Council has endorsed the union bank, but its chapter application is pending firm financial commitments from a majority of those who've withdrawn their money from Seafirst. Council executive secretary Jim Bender, who says, "We don't want just a dingbat bank," thinks the bank's establishment will take at least six months. With no hard figures in hand, he guesses the bank will begin with \$100 million, and says the national AFL-CIO is "almost" ready to go into the banking business.

Given the optimism of both the FIEA and the Labor Council, this state may eventually have both a union bank and a unionized bank. Whether the two will be compatible, or competitive, however, is a question nobody seems to be asking. ■

A LABOR PARTY?

Labor Coalition hears Commoner



Barry Commoner with John McGinness, legislative director of the United Transportation Union.

By Pat Strandt

CHICAGO

THREE HUNDRED CHICAGO labor unionists packed Teamsters Local 725 hall here May 11 to hear Barry Commoner, energy and ecology expert from Washington University, St. Louis, focus their unhappiness on what he suggested should be "labor's political party."

Commoner laid out his proposition right away, telling the group—brought together as the annual meeting of the Labor Coalition on the Public Utilities—he would address "Why I think labor's concern with the energy crisis is central to the political future of labor and this country."

He outlined his view that the price of energy is going up exponentially, and why "it will not decline." The reason is not OPEC, he said, but is a 1973 decision by U.S.-based oil companies to increase the price of domestic oil—an action to which OPEC felt it had to respond. Oil companies are faced with declining supplies of a nonrenewable resource, and increasing costs of supplying it, since the easy sources have been tapped and are running

out. He used the illustration of a bowl of spaghetti—easy to eat when you're scooping it off the top, harder when you're scraping the bottom.

"From 1950 to 1972, the cost of energy in the U.S. was constant," Commoner told the unionists. "But in 1973 it went up sixfold and since then has been climbing faster and faster."

His suggestion of a remedy is the use of methane gas from biomass (agricultural and other waste matter), photovoltaic cells, windmills, hydroelectric power, and solar energy. In a recent two-part article in the *New Yorker* magazine, Commoner outlined his proposals. A book covering the same territory, *The Politics of Energy*, is coming out in late May as a paperback. All the things Commoner suggests are within our technical grasp, but require a political will to marshal. He told the labor group, which did not protest, that use of nuclear energy was tantamount to ringing a doorbell with a cannon.

"What I'm saying is very simple," he concluded. "There are solutions? Why aren't we doing it?"

"The reason is political. It would require investing public funds for the public good. But Mr. Carter and the Congress are hooked on the idea that there will be no investment unless someone makes a profit out of it."

"We are faced in this country with political paralysis. We haven't got a political vehicle to do it. We have no political parties. Every few years they rise from the dead and borrow your votes, and then they disappear."

"The mission that labor has in this country now is to help organize an independent political party," Commoner told the group, to a standing ovation. "I'm not talking about a third party," he said, "but about the first party!"

The Labor Coalition on the Public Utilities is a five-year-old consortium of Chicago and Illinois unionists that has been policing utility rates and practices throughout the state. It was instrumental in securing what may be a \$60-per-household rebate from Peoples Gas Company this winter, has helped hold down telephone-rate increases and is preparing to battle the 18.6-percent rate hike demanded by Commonwealth Edison, the nation's number-one user of nuclear-generated energy.

Union leaders at the dinner came from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, Steelworkers, Auto Workers, Machinists, Meatcutters, Service Employees, Graphic Arts, Communication Workers, United Transportation Union, Postal Workers, Mine Workers, Teamsters, American Federation of Teachers, Newspaper Guild, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Painters, Furniture Workers, Government Employees, Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers, Office and Professional Employees, United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers, Ladies Garment Workers, Actors Equity, Typographical Union, Seafarers, United Electrical Workers, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers, and Shoeworkers.

LCPU also has the support of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and retiree and senior citizens' groups. The Chicago Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, was represented at the dinner by Albert Towers, assistant to CFL President William Lee, and the Illinois Commerce Commission was represented by its chairman, Michael Hasten. Also at the meeting were several state legislators, a representative of the state's attorney's office, and college faculty and students. President of the LCPU is George Gundersen of the Graphic Arts International Union.



SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE U.S.

"CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW THE PLAYERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GAME AND THE REALITY THAT IT REFLECTS. THIS POSTER IS THE SIMPLEST AND CLEVEREST MEANS TO HELP EXPLAIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. TODAY. A MUST FOR ANY RADICAL TEACHER..."

— Bertell Ollman, Marxist scholar and inventor of the "Class Struggle" game

The Social Stratification poster is a graphic presentation of the U.S. population by income, occupation, family status, race and wealth. Much of this information is talked about in the media and classrooms. However, the series of numbers, percentages and median figures that are cited are confusing and near impossible to relate to one another. Our purpose is to overcome this comprehension problem by combining the data into a clear graphic format.

Making this information accessible is an important political project. The concept of "America as a middle class society" is widely used and politically charged. It conveys the image of a vast clump in the middle with few at the extremes of great wealth or poverty. Overcoming this illusion and making people confront differing social conditions and status is a crucial first step toward political awareness.

But there is another need for making this information accessible — the contemporary U.S. left has operated without a developed class analysis. Phrases such as "the industrial working class", "aristocracy of labor", and "new working class" have appeared and contended with one another without a clear presentation of the facts involved. One cause for this confusion has been the isolation of the left from the real conditions and concerns of most Americans. Hopefully, this poster will stimulate both further investigation and more focused political activity.

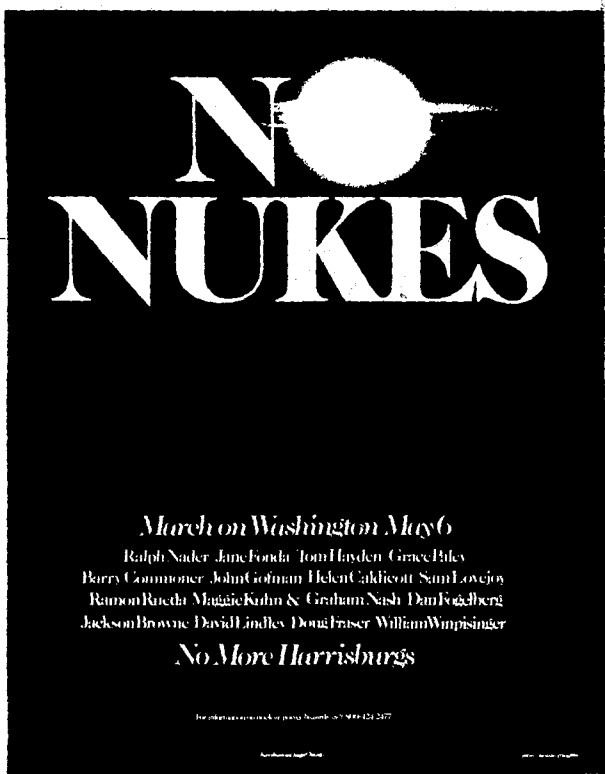
"THERE IS A CRIPPLING LACK OF INFORMATION NOT ONLY IN THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT AMONG STUDENTS OF ECONOMICS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS ATTRACTIVE POSTER GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD REMEDYING THAT DEFICIENCY. I AM HAPPY TO RECOMMEND IT WHOLE-HEARTEDLY AS A TEACHING ADJUNCT."

— Robert Heilbroner

The poster measures 35" x 45" and uses eight colors to represent occupation and labor force status. Different figures are used to portray husband/wife couples, single people, and single heads of household. Household figures show what each member does and are placed on the poster according to their 1978 annual income. An accompanying 40 page booklet gives the detailed methodological and statistical information.

The price is \$5.00 for the poster, and \$2.00 for the booklet; (each order should include \$1.00 for postage and handling). Bulk and institutional rates are available for classroom use, and the poster is also available as a mounted full-color transparency for overhead projectors. (The poster is very useful at the high school and introductory college levels.)

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SALT II debate

Continued from page 3.

warheads (for increased firepower and accuracy) and the MX mobile missile.

At the Guadalupe summit last February, Carter undercut conservative critics of the pact who have charged that SALT II would harm the Western Alliance by producing glowing endorsements of the pact from British Prime Minister Callaghan, German Chancellor Schmidt and even from France's Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Moreover, Carter has shunned the notion of linking SALT to Soviet foreign policy in Africa and Asia. "It is precisely because we have fundamental differences with the Soviet Union that we are determined to bring this most dangerous element of our military competition under control," he said on Feb. 20.

Most observers expect the Senate to refer the SALT treaty in late June for several months of hearings by both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee. By fall the pact is expected to reach the floor of the Senate with a vote on tap late this year of early 1980.

Though the Carter administration has previously turned near-failure into success on such foreign policy initiatives as the Panama Canal, arms sales to Turkey, and the sale of jets to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, most Capitol Hill observers agree that those pale in comparison to the uphill fight for SALT II ratification. An IN THESE TIMES poll of Senate offices found 46 senators committed to or leaning toward ratification of SALT, 28 senators against and 26 senators undecided on the pact. Only 34 "no" votes are required to defeat the treaty. In addition, both the Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees include a disproportionate number of SALT opponents. On Foreign Relations, eight support SALT—led by Frank Church (D-ID), Claiborne Pell (D-RI), and Jacob Javits (R-NY)—seven are opposed—including Jesse Helms (R-SC), S.I. Hayakawa (R-CA) and (probably) George McGovern (D-SD)—while two—Howard Baker (R-TN) and John Glenn (D-OH) are undecided. On Armed Services, the split is four "yes" (led by John Culver (D-IA) and Gary Hart (D-CO)), seven "no" (including Henry Jackson (D-WA) and Barry Goldwater (R-AZ)) and six "undecided" (including committee chair John Stennis (D-MS) and Sam Nunn (D-GA)).

The opposition to SALT in the Senate makes strange bedfellows: the hawks, such as Helms, Jackson and Jake Garn (R-UT), are joined by the liberal threesome of McGovern, Mark Hatfield (R-OR), and William Proxmire (D-WI).

The lion's share of the objections to SALT II originate from the right side of the aisle. As presidential politicking has heated up, nearly all the prospective Republican candidates have sounded off against the administration. According to former Texas governor John Connally, SALT "will do nothing but legitimize and condone the Soviets' overtaking the

U.S. in strategic arms." Carter "has given away many bargaining chips," remarked dark-horse hopeful George Bush. And then there's Ronald Reagan, drawing comparisons between Carter and the "tapping of Neville Chamberlain's umbrella at Munich."

All 38 members of the Republican opposition in the Senate abandoned "bipartisan foreign policy" by denouncing the administration's defense policy for "incoherence, inconsistency, and ineptitude" in a declaration last May. And President Carter would get more Republican support for SALT, advised Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker (R-TN), if only he would support the B-1 bomber, MX missile, and a boost in the Navy shipbuilding program.

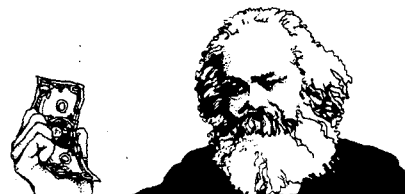
Conservative opposition—Democratic and Republican—tends to center on concerns about verification, U.S. ICBM vulnerability at the hands of the Soviets and a desire to link SALT to Soviet human rights and foreign policy. "Look at the Backfire bomber," said an aide to Sen. Garn, "The Soviets don't have to count it as a strategic bomber and their MIRVs are endangering our ICBMs. To maintain our triad (land and sea missiles and bombers), we'll need the MX. We'd much rather dig up those big Soviet missiles, but if they force us to deploy MX, we should do it."

Verification is of particular concern, especially with the abandonment of Soviet missile test monitoring stations in Iran and Admiral Stansfield Turner's admission before a Senate Committee that those sites might not be recouped until 1984, a year before SALT II expires. "The loss of the listening posts causes irreparable harm to SALT," says Sen. Henry Jackson (D-WA), a critic of SALT since President Carter took office. The administration has responded by reiterating the ability of reconnaissance satellites and other technical means to detect any Soviet violation of the treaty before unilateral advantage is gained. Though Defense Secretary Brown has stated that "any SALT treaty will be verifiable or there will be no treaty," many undecided senators are reserving judgment until classified briefings by the CIA.

On the left, Senators McGovern, Hatfield and Proxmire have decided, according to an aide to Sen. McGovern, "to set themselves up as a bloc of liberals not willing to pay any price for SALT. While we recognize that the treaty goes about as far as it can go," the aide told ITT, "we're concerned about the impact on ratification if the President destroys SALT III in winning SALT II by promising the MX missile, ground and sea-launched cruise missiles and more."

Conservative and liberal critics of the treaty vow to introduce amendments to the treaty on the Senate floor. Secretary of State Vance warned on May 13 that "the treaty was carefully drafted and "to draft amendments to any part of the treaty risks killing it altogether." If the Carter administration refuses to allow amendments, many observers fear a repeat of President Woodrow Wilson's bout with the Senate over the League of Nations treaty in 1919. When Wilson refused to accept amendments, the Senate rejected the pact. Treaty opponents point to the Panama Canal treaty amendments as an example of how SALT II might be amended on the Senate floor, but, as an aide to Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI) pointed out, "Brezhnev is not Torrijos and the Russians are not the Panamanians." Whether the administration will continue to cling to a no-amendments strategy remains to be seen.

Despite the fact that organizations opposing SALT II have outspent treaty advocates by \$1.5 million to \$100,000 to date, Senate supporters of the treaty point to public support in the polls as a reason for optimism. A recent NBC News/Associated Press poll showed 81 percent of the American people supporting in principle a new SALT treaty with the Soviets. But, as pact opponents point out, "in principle" support is likely to fade as the specifics of the treaty emerge in the Senate debate. "Our challenge is to translate public support for SALT into votes for ratification in the Senate," one pro-SALT activist told ITT, "That won't be easy." ■ Patrick Lacey is a New York City-based freelance writer.



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MODERN TIMES
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SEARS' SUIT

Judge dismisses Sears suit to stop affirmative action

By Robin Schenberg

A TENTATIVE VICTORY FOR minorities and women was won last week when U.S. District Judge June Green dismissed the suit by Sears, Roebuck and Co. that threatened to throw the federal affirmative action programs into great disarray. The suit charged that conflicting federal policies made it impossible for companies to comply with anti-discrimination laws in their hiring and promotion policies.

Judge Green decided in favor of the federal government, stating that Sears had failed to present a case that offered concrete and definite evidence of harm or potential harm. She described Sears' case as "speculative and conjectural."

Sears went into court on Jan. 24, the day the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) notified the company of a long list of violations. The suit brought by Sears on Jan. 24 sought a prohibition against the enforcement of federal anti-discrimination regulations governing the hiring and promotion of veterans, women, the handicapped, minorities and part-time employees. It charged the inept and poor performance of the enforcement agencies prevented employers from providing equal opportunities to their employees and potential employees. Further, the suit charged that the influence of the federal government on housing patterns ran counter to affirmative action policies.

In its effort to get the case dismissed, the Justice Department claimed, last March, that the suit was a "political essay, not a law suit." The fact that Sears went into court on the day that the EEOC notified the company of a long list of violations led critics to contend that the suit was brought to blunt an impending suit by the agency.

One interesting aspect of the Sears case was its choice of lawyer. Charles J. Morgan Jr., a Washington attorney, had long been known in civil rights circles. He was founder and director of the regional office of the American Civil Liberties Union. He moved to the Washington lobbying office of ACLU in 1972. In 1975, he opened his own law office in Washington. He was principal attorney in the one man one vote case, represented the black plaintiffs who gained admission to the University of Alabama at Huntsville, and served as attorney in a long list of civil rights cases since the early '60s that integrated southern juries, penal facilities and other formerly segregated facilities.

Morgan came to Chicago to speak for the ACLU last week. He bemoaned his newly bestowed title of "former" civil rights lawyer, but opponents of the Sears case, including a delegation from the National Organization of Women who picketed outside the building where he spoke, felt he had justly earned that title.

Responding to Morgan's speech about "Equal Rights," noted black newspaper columnist Vernon Jarrett said, "Your suit means that we would have to wait for affirmative action until the government straightens out its own house, which will take millennia."

According to the 1,830 discrimination charges filed by Sears workers since 1965, Sears has certainly not straightened out its house. What the Sears suit tried to do was to get the company off the hook by blaming the government. Federal affirmative action guidelines are so skewed up, says Sears, that they should be thrown out.

If Sears had won, it stood to save several million dollars in fines likely to result

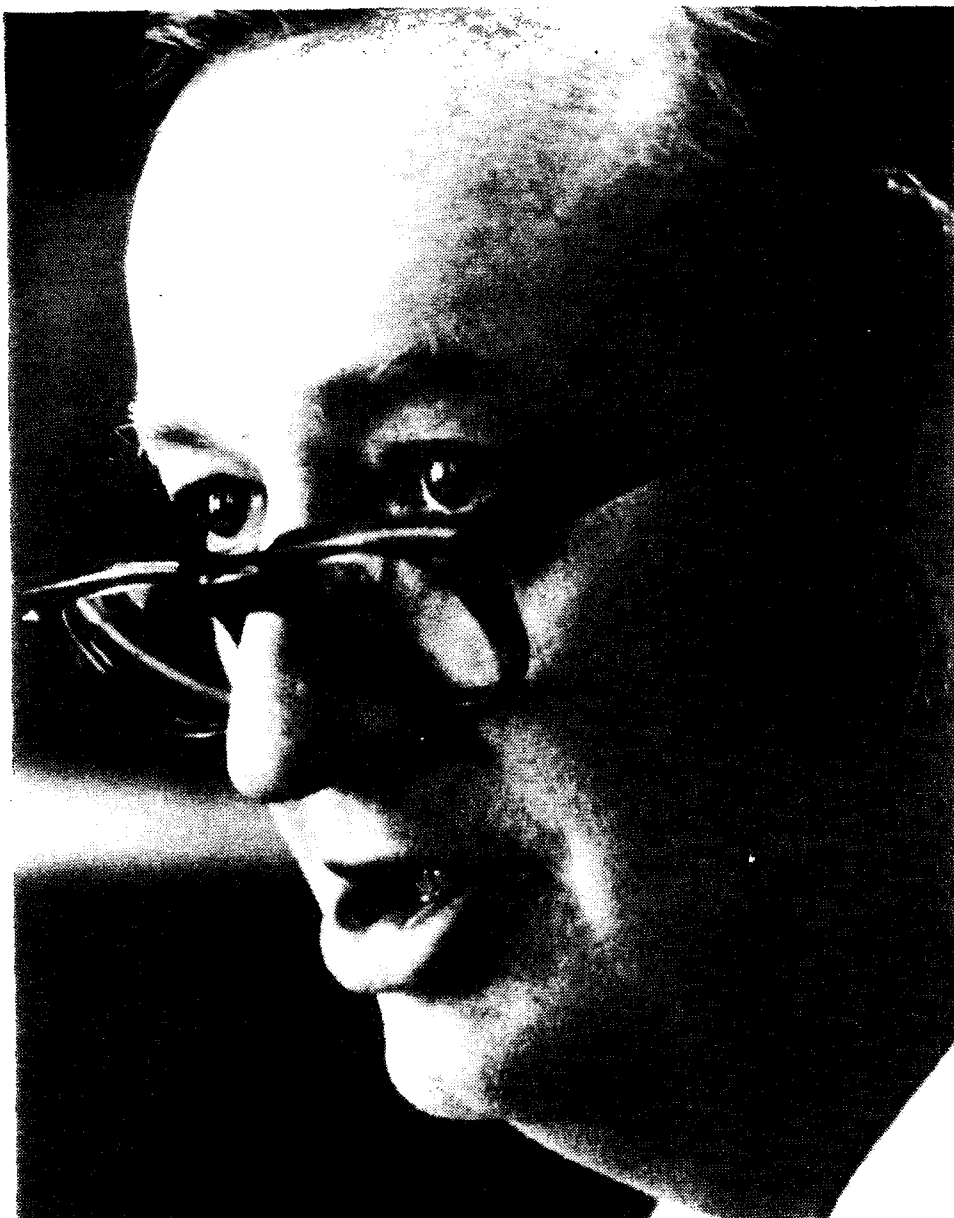
Sears failed to present a concrete case; it is only speculative and conjectural.

from Equal Employment Opportunity Commission suit now under preparation. Insiders put the figure at \$20 million in back pay. Win or lose, the case threatened to undermine affirmative action in a move even more sweeping than that of Bakke and Weber against the gains minorities and women made in the upsurge of the '60s.

The EEOC began its investigation of Sears in 1973. The commission tries to settle out of court with the company under examination, but in this case, it couldn't. Sears put up what some federal officials described as "massive resistance." The EEOC terminated proceedings in 1977 with charges of race and sex discrimination at 69 levels, presumably to take Sears to court.

In an unusual reversal of roles, the world's largest retailer claimed that it was "deprived of an available pool of qualified minority and female applicants for employment." By failing to enforce anti-discrimination regulations in education and housing, the government, according to Sears, created a situation where blacks, Hispanics, and women do not have competitive skills. Nor do minorities live in the vicinity of Sears stores, a qualification the company implied is a condition for employment.

Furthermore, Sears argued, a series of veterans preference laws are responsible for an employee roster that is largely white male, especially at the upper echelons.



Charles J. Morgan Jr., the former civil rights attorney, is Sears' lawyer.

Now, with the mandatory retirement age going from 65 to 70, Sears said fewer workers are retiring, so fewer opportunities are opening up for minorities and women to advance.

The argument made a strong pitch to the New Right building around Proposition 13, Right-to-Life and, of course, Bakke and Weber. But to support Bakke and Weber, one had to declare oneself pro-white. To support Sears, one had only to be anti-big government, a much more respectable and broad-based sentiment. Attorney Morgan presented a vivid picture of a "self-serving federal bureaucracy hamstringing the efforts of honest corporations to help the disadvantaged."

Few opponents of the Sears suit came forward to defend the government's role in enforcing affirmative action. But they

felt this is no excuse for Sears own discriminatory record. "For Sears to contend that it is a victim of the social climate, for Sears to deny responsibility for discrimination caused by its own hiring practices, is outrageous," said Mary Jean Collins, president of Chicago NOW, at the Morgan speech.

Ms. Collins cited the example of two buyer's assistant jobs at Sears headquarters in Chicago. Both jobs carried identical responsibilities, save for a typewriter at one of the desks. But one was a salaried position filled by a man and the other a non-salaried clerical job filled by a woman at several hundred dollars less pay. The man wasn't even required to know how to type. Of all male employees, 9.9 percent at Sears on salary, as com-

Continued on page 10.

TED KENNEDY

Health insurance act is announced

By Florence H. Levinsohn

IS SEN. EDWARD M. KENNEDY (D-MA) going to have a go at the presidency? His long-awaited announcement of a comprehensive national health care plan last week after his challenge to President Carter on oil decontrol heightens the question that is already on everybody's mind.

Kennedy announced his new plan in the same Senate Caucus Room where his two brothers announced their candidacies for the presidency. The plan, called Health Care for All Americans Act, would operate through private insurers. It would require employers to pay for the full cost of health insurance, though they could pass on to employees up to 35 percent of the premium. The size of the premium would depend on the income of the employee.

Coverage under the plan would include unlimited hospital care and doctor's services along with laboratory services, X-rays, ambulance services and medical equipment. Limited payments would also be available for drugs, home care, nursing homes and mental health services.

Kennedy's plan is not a voluntary one. Everyone not eligible for Medicare would be covered and all employers would be required to pay the premiums. Doctors would be required to accept fees set under the plan as payment in full. Premium payments would be monitored by the In-

ternal Revenue Service, although the payments would not be considered taxes.

Introducing the bill, Kennedy challenged President Carter to "make quality health care a right of all our people." He criticized the Carter administration for a "piecemeal" approach to the problem, and said he would fight any effort to pass legislation that seeks only to provide insurance for catastrophic health costs, which has been introduced by several Republican senators, and is expected to be the essence of the bill to be introduced by the President later this year.

Kennedy estimated that if the plan is enacted it will add \$28.6 billion a year to the federal budget and will cost industry and individuals \$11.4 billion by the time it is fully operational, which he estimated to be three years.

Under the plan, the federal government would act as guarantor, and would regulate the private insurers and set budgetary limits on total health costs. The insurance would be provided by four consortiums of companies with each individual offered a choice of two of the four. The government would continue to operate the Medicare program for the elderly, but under Kennedy's plan the coverage would be expanded to include those not now covered. While most of the poor would be included in the plan, the states would operate a "residual" Medicaid program.

Following Kennedy's announcement, Joseph A. Califano Jr., Secretary of

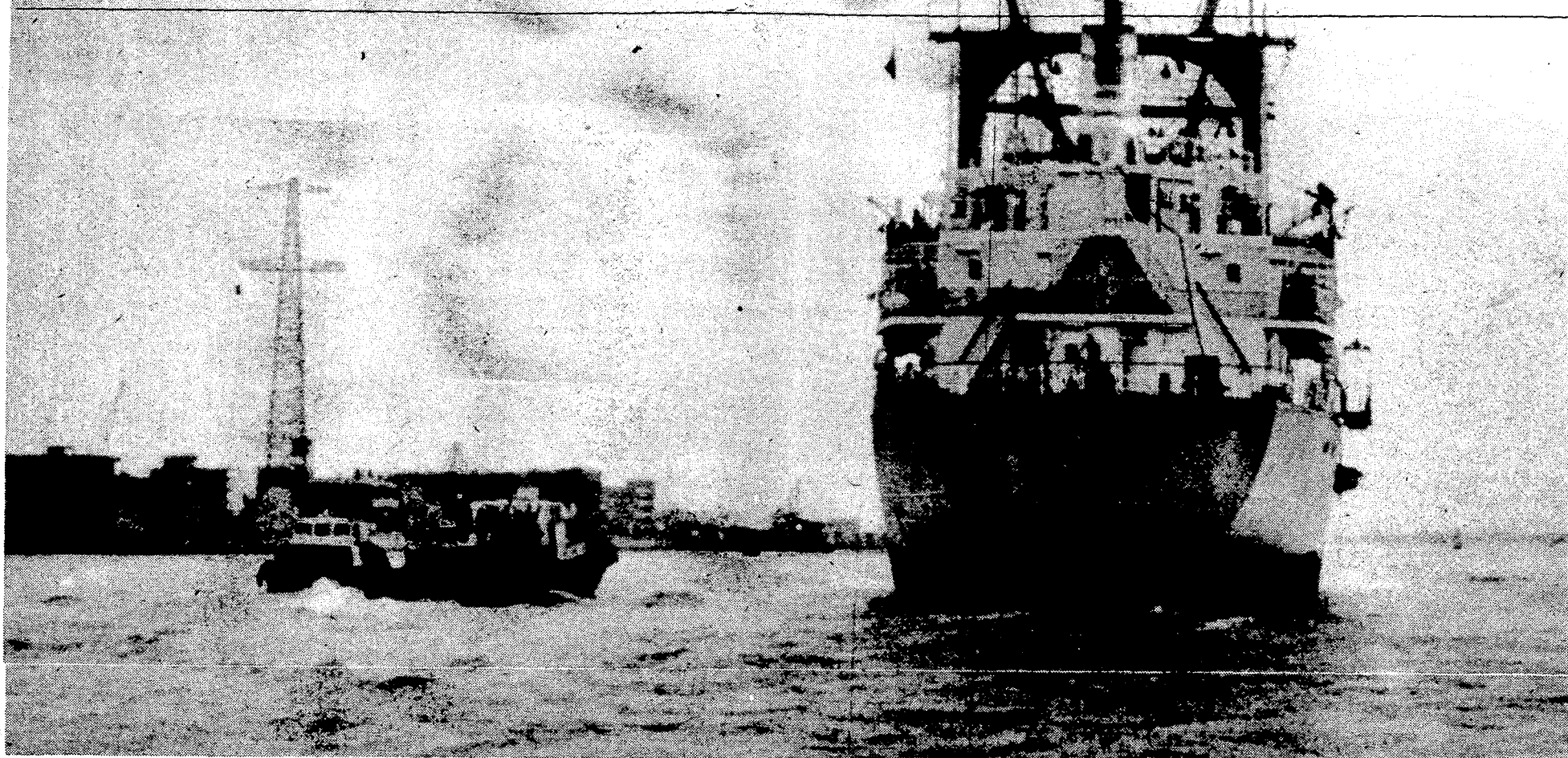
Health, Education and Welfare, said: "President Carter shares with Sen. Kennedy and Congressman Waxman (D-CA, who will introduce the bill in the House of Representatives) the same ultimate aspiration—a universal comprehensive national health program. The administration does, however, have a basic difference in approach. We believe that to enact national health legislation in the 96th Congress—after decades of failure—we should propose only a first phase bill."

Clearly, Kennedy is not willing to wait. He admitted that getting the bill enacted "will be an uphill battle because of the power of special interests in the U.S." But 1979 may just be the year in which Kennedy is ready to take on those special interests. His success with this health care plan may be a test of his strength, though polls indicate that he has a 58-36 percent lead over Carter in New Hampshire at this time (see page 4). His introduction of the bill now may be less a test than an offering of his future position on such critical issues.

While his plan is not as far-reaching as the plan proposed by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), provides less comprehensive coverage, and continues to give the insurance companies a large role, it is sufficiently broad and inexpensive for consumers to gain wide support. It has already been endorsed by 65 interest groups, representing labor, consumers, the elderly, religious and civil rights groups. ■

IN THE WORLD

ISRAEL/EGYPT



The freighter Ashdod Monday in the Suez Canal April 30. The ship was the first to transit the canal since Israel was founded in 1948.

Trade with Egypt glimmers on horizon

But Egypt's poverty and competition from the U.S. and Europe worries traders.

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

IT DOESN'T MATTER HOW MANY millions of people live in Egypt. What is important is how much they import." With this, the head of Israel's largest industrial conglomerate opened a discussion of possible Israeli-Egyptian trade, printed recently in the Israeli press.

The figure, he soberly reported, is about \$5 billion a year, the same as Israel's total imports and much less than the European and American markets for which Israeli industrialists try to gear their export programs. "Even if the Egyptians wanted to buy, they just don't have the money," explained Naftali Blumenthal, head of the firm. Egypt's per capita GNP is about one-tenth that of Israel.

Other factors, too, worry Israel's potential traders, who, when peace with Egypt first became a possibility, were overflowing with enthusiastic dreams of profitable trade and investment. For instance, Israel cannot possibly compete with the U.S., Western Europe and Japan in offering aid to Egyptian President Sadat—and he desperately needs tremendous amounts of aid to keep his economy afloat, not to mention attempting to solve its problems of technological backwardness and massive unemployment.

But Israeli economic planners are well aware—from their own experience—that foreign aid from the sources capable of helping Egypt is almost always tied to trade agreements, under which the recipient promises to buy products from the "giver." Thus, Israel has little chance of selling Egypt items it will likely be bound to purchase elsewhere.

Nor does much potential exist for trade in the other direction, economists here conclude. Most of Egypt's commodities available for export are basic ones that Israel already produces. And the Israeli government is not actively seeking to increase its already serious balance-of-trade deficit, to say the least.

The one possible exception is oil. After it returns Sinai, Israel will have to import almost all its oil, and with former chief supplier, Iran, now out of the market

as far as Jerusalem is concerned, secure future sources are actively being sought.

One of the last peace treaty issues to be resolved was the question of Egyptian oil for Israel. It was ostensibly a political point, with Israel anxious to guarantee its future supply. But even if Egypt had agreed to Jerusalem's demands (a meaningless compromise was ultimately worked out), the promise to supply oil would only have been as good as the peace treaty itself, and the treaty contains many other more significant possible pitfalls.

In addition, the U.S. guaranteed, as early as 1975, to keep enough black juice flowing to Israel for at least 15 years. The recent Iran-inspired "energy crisis" was hardly felt in Israel—no shortages, either real or artificial, no serious talk of rationing (the industry here is state-regulated).

Israel must import its oil and Egypt's proximity could make such a deal mutually beneficial. If the treaty holds, the exchange will probably take place. And behind this obvious consideration, institutionalized oil purchases by Israel could provide the otherwise missing lever for the sale of other goods to Egypt.

Ya'acov Levinson, head of one of Israel's three large banks, openly advocates this line of thinking, predicting the oil sales "may be the first opening for a quantitatively significant barter agreement." Aware of the aid-related factors of Egyptian import trade, Levinson suggests "an effort by Israel to become a factor in international aid to Egypt," in order to facilitate such an agreement.

Levinson also states that "population growth in relation to product" is the "notorious basic problem of Egypt's economy and society." He concludes from this that "what Egypt is ready to offer in massive quantities is relatively cheap labor looking for work or for more productive work."

Levinson, whose Bank Hapoalim (Worker's Bank) is controlled by the Histadrut labor federation but well integrated with other Israeli capital, warns against an influx of Egyptian workers, primarily on social grounds: "The illusion that it is possible to go on maintaining an independent country in which a relative handful of people from one nation supplies

the ruling, managing, consultant and entrepreneur class will sooner or later be shattered in view of the distribution of incomes, living standards, social positions and bases of economic activity."

He therefore opposes free movement of labor between the two countries. So does Blumenthal, whose firm, Koor, is also Histadrut-controlled. But so does Manufacturers Association head Avraham Shavit, who is not directly connected to the Labor establishment.

This is the official line, and the argument about what it would do to the class structure of Israeli society is a valid one. But reality is unlikely to be determined by only this moralist argument. The government is already publicly urging Sadat to allow several thousand El Arish residents, whose town is to be returned to Egypt on May 26, to continue working in Israel, on condition that they return home every night. The reason given for establishment of what would become a clear precedent is concern for the workers' welfare.

A similar rationalization is made for the continuing employment of approximately 100,000 Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza, occupied since 1967. "The situations are far from comparable," replies the head of Koor, who earlier in his interview threatened to "go out on strike the day the first Egyptian laborer crosses into Israel."

"The economic development of Judea, Samaria (West Bank) and Gaza," he asserts, "is and was for the mutual benefit of both sides. Moreover, we are responsible for their welfare." This "development" has been distinctly colonial-like, as several studies have pointed out. The Palestinians work for the most part in Israel proper, in low-wage jobs; there has been next to no locally-owned, and little Israeli owned, industrialization in the territories; and trade between Israel and the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is grossly unbalanced in favor of the former.

Egyptian workers are one "commodity" likely to be imported by Israel. An influx massive enough to disrupt Israeli society will be avoided, but capitalists anywhere are not quick to turn away a source of cheap labor. Given official full employment (statistics lie here too—there

are unemployed Israelis), the Israeli government did not hesitate to agree to import even *higher-paid* American workers to construct the new air bases and other installations planned for behind the new lines in the south of the country.

Industrialist Shavit explains his fearful vision of what would happen if Israelis did the job: "Where will we get the manpower to work the machines in our factories? Some of our men will undoubtedly go south to build the fortifications, Where will we get the replacements? Can you visualize a clerk, a civil servant, leaving his desk for the work bench? We can't even find manpower to work a second and third shift today. Peace can set Israeli industry back a good few years."

One proposal made by Levinson of Bank Hapoalim and many others is to cooperate in building massive new industrial zones in Sinai after its return to Egypt. These would employ "Egyptian manpower, Israeli know-how and equipment," he suggests, and presumably foreign capital as well.

There has not yet been an authoritative response by the Egyptians to this or similar proposals. To his credit, Levinson is also sensitive to possible Egyptian reticence at so quickly establishing a neo-colonial relationship after finally getting rid of direct occupation, "...in order to avoid the impression of an 'Israeli return' to Sinai," he explains.

In any case, none of the recent speculative writing by Israeli establishment economic figures holds out any promise that Israel could or wants to seriously contribute to solving Egypt's economic problems—which is what millions of Egyptians have been led to believe will happen.

Nor do the Israeli analysts seem to believe that peace with Egypt will solve Israel's inflation, now approaching triple digits, or reduce the country's tremendous foreign debt. (The one hope they do hold out is possible renewed trade with sub-Saharan Africa, cut off after 1967.)

And the major cause of both these Israeli economic problems—military spending—is not yet being lowered below the 35 percent of Israel's GNP it now employs, despite all of Begin's, Sadat's and Carter's superlatives about the dawn of a new age of peace.

FRENCH COMMUNISTS

Eurocommunism and left unity back

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

GEORGES MARCHAIS IS STILL steering the French Communist party (PCF) towards Eurocommunism, French style. At the PCF's 23rd Congress held May 9-15 in the Communist-administered Paris industrial suburb of Saint Ouen, Marchais stressed that "Euro-Communism is not dead."

The outcome of the Congress belied widespread predictions that the PCF would throw out the Marchais line, and perhaps Marchais himself, in the wake of the wreckage of the Union of the Left. Marchais signed the Common Program with the Socialist Party (PS) in 1974. His chief rival in the executive party secretariat, Roland Leroy, reportedly argued that signing the Common Program was a mistake, since it only profited the PS. Socialist commentators predicted that this line and Leroy, prime mover behind the 1977 break with the PS would triumph at the current congress.

But in a surprise ending, Leroy was kicked out of the seven-man secretariat, which was turned into a seven-person secretariat by the election of its first woman, Paris deputy Gisèle Moreau.

Leroy stayed on as editor of the party organ, *L'Humanité*, and as member of the political bureau. But he may find himself crowded by his deputy editor Francette Lazard, promoted to the political bureau. What Marchais called "the forward movement of women" in the party enforces his own position, as Moreau, Lazard and the eight women added to the central committee are considered supporters of the ebullient secretary-general.

Marchais is a great showman. When he attacks Francois Mitterrand on television, it is easy to assume that no other Communist could attack harder. And it is easy to overlook that by blaming the Socialist leader for wrecking the union of the left, Marchais is defending the policy of union—his own policy—as essentially sound.

Union at the base.

In his vigorously delivered five-hour report opening the Congress, Marchais deftly criticized and salvaged the possibility of unity with the PS by laying down the new line of "union at the base." The old union was a good idea, but it was top-heavy. It spread illusions that demobilized the rank and file. Thus the Socialist leaders were able to "betray" it, lured away by the blandishments of West German social democracy. The solution now is to create a more favorable relationship of forces through "union in action at the base." Implication: this will eventually enable the PCF to make a new and better deal with the PS. But not until well after the European parliamentary elections, in which the PS and PCF are running in opposite directions.

Since the left lost the March 1978 elections, an unprecedented chorus of complaints from PCF members has reached the ears of the public. Emboldened perhaps by the 22nd Congress three years ago, in which Marchais called democracy the key to French-style socialism, Communists have published a flood of memoirs and articles criticizing their party. The published grass-roots complaints have tended to express attachment to union of the left. This contrasts with rumors of strong opposition to union within the party apparatus. While dissenters were not expelled, as in the past, the issue was never confronted openly, least of all at the party Congress. Instead, the contradictions were synthesized—or evaded—by the skillful ambiguities of the secretary-general's call for "union at the base."

New faces.

Most of the 2,000 delegates to the Congress were attractive young adults, one-

Communist Party head George Marchais, Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterrand, and Radical Party leader Robert Fabre leave Socialist headquarters March 3, 1978, after reaching a compromise agreement on program.

third of them women. Trouble-makers had been weeded out in advance. Those who came seemed to enjoy being good, to deserve their adventure. Speakers developed variations on the Marchais theme, showing how well they had understood it and could apply it to their local situations. They voted unanimously, happy in the conviction that "democratic centralism" is the only way the working class can defend its party from disintegrating factionalism. Most delegates were younger than the party's outgoing "youth" leader, 37-year-old Jean-Michel Catala. They seemed to head home from the Congress sincerely galvanized by the speeches—and cheered on also by the special "23rd Congress vintage" generously supplied by southern French winegrowers grateful for the PCF's defense of their interests.

The PCF still has a Stalinist old guard, authoritarian practices. But poll after poll shows that the part of the French population that votes Communist is the least authoritarian in its attitudes on virtually every social, political or personal issue. This is increasingly true of the party itself (and not just its constituency) as it gets younger and more feminine. One of the Marchais people who swept the promotions list at the 23rd Congress was Pierre Juquin, known for a publicized handshake with Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch and for writing a defense of homosexuality. No heavyweight himself, Juquin's promotion is a green light to PCF militants pursuing "union at the base" in such unorthodox ways as gay rights and defense of Czechoslovakian human rights activist. For all its surface unanimity, the PCF is a mass of contradictions.

It can be argued that throughout the '70s, Marchais' role has been to lead this party, zigging and zagging when necessary, away from its Stalinist past towards a more Italian, Eurocommunist role as both "mass" and "governmental" party, while avoiding the ultra-left terrorist reaction that has plagued the Italians.

Socialism and democracy.

Marchais said people announcing the "death" of Eurocommunism "are fooling themselves or others." The Eurocommunist trend is "durable" because based on the "universal requirement of socialism for democracy," he said.

Persistent neglect of this "universal" principle, that socialism and democracy go together, accounted for the worst faults of the Soviet system, Marchais said. Otherwise, referring to Communist countries, he called for a relativistic appraisal of efforts towards socialism, considering the historical and cultural context of each particular country. Seen in that light, "the overall record of socialism is positive," the PCF leader concluded. This is obviously a compromise position that will certainly not dam the growing flood of criticism of eastern European countries by PCF members.

Like Enrico Berlinguer at the recent Italian Communist Party (PCI) Congress, Marchais made friendly overtures toward China. Chinese journalists came to the Congress, looking pleased.

Marchais expressed special interest in Berlinguer's proposal for an "international peace and development charter." He said the PCF was ready to "develop contacts and, if possible, actions in common with socialist and social democratic parties" in Europe, just like the PCI, but

added that "the current behavior of most of those parties does not favor rapprochement."

The PCF is convinced it can fight most effectively on a national rather than European basis. Repeatedly in French history—after the 1789 revolution, during the Paris Commune of 1871, again during the Nazi occupation—France's threatened ruling classes have sought protection in foreign alliances, making patriotism a popular and even revolutionary tradition.

Today, according to its analysis, the PCF is cast as defender of the people and the nation, whose interests are being sold out by the government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing acting on behalf of a small segment of the ruling class. According to the PCF resolution, Giscard's aim is to "drain the greatest possible share of the country's resources and strength towards the French-based multinationals, to give them the means of getting their share in the new distribution of influence and profit-zones that the giants of the capitalist world are trying to organize." This policy means sacrificing whole areas of economic activity, hard-won social benefits to the standard of living of millions. To pull it off, the multinationalist capitalist must enlist the cooperation of social democracy.

Here the PCF analysis abruptly reaches the edge of a chasm. It has no clear strategy towards the Socialist Party. Is this gap its own internal cleavage, or a space left for bargaining? Or both? The two co-signers of the Common Program, Mitterrand and Marchais, have both beaten back hidden or open challenges to their leadership. Both still claim to favor union of the left—at least in principle. The union of the left is not dead, it is only comatose. ■



BRITISH COLUMBIA

NDP gains votes but rightists win

The social democratic New Democratic Party fought an uphill battle, especially in Vancouver's gerrymandered electoral boundaries.

By Mark Bostwick

ON MAY 11, THE MORNING AFTER the provincial election, British Columbia capitalists breathed a sigh of relief. Premier Bill Bennett and his Social Credit party had weathered the storm and retained control of the provincial legislature. A strong social democratic challenge had been turned back.

The final standings gave Social Credit 31 seats. The New Democratic Party increased their popular vote and took 26 seats. The Liberals and Conservatives were completely shut out. British Columbia is now divided between far right and a moderate left. Since 1972, the NDP has gradually increased its share of the popular vote from 33 percent to 47 percent. NDP leader Dave Barrett correctly viewed the results as a sign of popular acceptance of the NDP.

The social democratic New Democratic Party fought an uphill battle, especially in Vancouver where gerrymandered electoral boundaries exacted a heavy toll in traditionally NDP areas.

On the surface, but only on the surface, the election was a struggle for the support of British Columbia's beleaguered small business sector whose importance in this election far outweighed their actual numbers. Both major parties contested the middle ground.

The NDP needed small business votes to provide the margin of victory for this traditionally working-class party. NDP leader Dave Barrett hammered away at the alarming increase in small business failures and argued that Social Credit was a tool of multinational corporations. But he apparently failed to convince the small business people that an NDP government would be their ally.

Premier Bennett rallied believers in "free enterprise" by reminding the electorate of the expensive social programs and alleged financial mismanagement of the 1972-1975 NDP government. In essence, he argued that a developing economy dependent upon multinational corporate investments in the resource sector was the best defense of both workers and small businesses. Several large corporations and the Japanese consulate in Vancouver dutifully echoed Bennett's charge that "socialism" would be bad for trade and investment.

Organized labor took a thrashing in the election too. Almost half of British Columbia's workforce belongs to a union and the labor movement is both militant and sympathetic to democratic socialism. Contrary to the usual historical experience, union membership has increased in the face of an unstable economy and high unemployment.

Premier Bennett gambled and called the election just prior to the dates when the two largest unions sit down to negotiate new contracts. Bennett's hand is now

strengthened when the government sits down across the bargaining table from the 40,000-member British Columbia government employees union. The IWA (International Woodworkers of America) must now bargain with the forest industry. The companies were particularly anxious to have a sympathetic government backing them up. The decline of the Canadian dollar has increased profits from exported timber products and the IWA believes they have a right to a share.

Organized labor expects Social Credit to introduce some form of "right to work" legislation soon. Social Credit has shown considerable interest in the Missouri experience, although some insiders think they will smuggle in "right to work" in a "Provincial Bill of Rights."

Social Credit is also expected to continue policies designed to dismantle the fragile initiatives towards public ownership taken during the earlier NDP government. A number of small companies acquired by the NDP have been auctioned off. Parts of the ferry fleet were sold off and then leased back. Enclaves of socialism in medical care, public transit and auto insurance were subjected to steep rate increases. Having balanced the budget at the expense of the consumer, Social Credit reduced personal income taxes as an election gimmick and promised to introduce a bare-bones dental insurance plan.

Another setback for the left is Bennett's program to give every British Columbia resident a share in the government-owned wealth of the province. Five free shares in unexploited natural gas fields, uncut forests, some pulp mills and other productive operations acquired by the

NDP are now available to British Columbians at their local bank. Apparently voters were pleased to get a piece of paper giving them possession of resources they already owned. Those with faith in the Social Credit future will be able to purchase additional shares up to \$50,000.

The NDP had used these public sector corporations to expand welfare state programs. Social Credit introduced drastic cutbacks. Women's centers, transition houses for battered wives, and a provincial day-care service have all languished through funding restraints. A novel welfare delivery system administered on a neighborhood basis by elected boards was dismantled. Ceilings have been placed on school board budgets and special programs for the deaf and blind dispersed into oblivion.

Bill Bennett held together his coalition of "free enterprisers" of all stripes in this election. The fast track for rapid capitalist exploitation is now open.

The fate of the opposition New Democratic Party remains in doubt. Dave Barrett has been the strongest advocate in the party for bending the NDP into a populist position. He hoped to stretch the embrace of the party beyond its labor and socialist base to include small business and the professional strata who fear big business. Organized labor would be only one "interest group" in a larger coalition.

The election was fought with populist rhetoric. The NDP made gains, but without sacrificing the left. Strong socialists, like Rosemary Brown, a nationally known feminist, were returned.

Social Credit and the corporations will face strong opposition in the legislature. ■

Sears' suit

Continued from page 7.

pared to 1.1 percent of female employees.

W.L. Wacker, a black salesman at Sears' Haywood, Calif., store, also has a story to tell. "I was the top salesman in the shoe department for about four years, starting in 1970," Mr. Wacker says. "Each time a big-ticket opening came up, they would give it to someone less qualified. They were all white."

Edward Telling, who took over chairmanship of the board of directors about a year ago with a program to cut costs and boost what were then lagging profits, points to progress in meeting affirmative action goals. "At the end of 1977," says Telling, "minorities represented 10.5 percent of our officials and managers, up from 1.4 percent in 1965. And 36 percent of officials and managers were women, compared with 25 percent in 1965."

"What does he mean by 'officials and managers'?" asks Gerald Horne of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. "Who's on the board of directors? Who makes the personnel decisions? And by what standards?" The EEOC charged that nearly all of Sears' personnel decisions were made by white males without objective standards.

"Sears makes one million personnel decisions a year," continues Mr. Horne. "Of those, only a small percent are affected by veterans preference and retirement laws." Vets' preference laws apply to rehiring of employees who left their jobs to serve in the armed forces. Sears' own figures show that the rise in retirement age will cut promotions and other job changes by only 1.8 percent over five years.

At press time, Sears had not made a decision whether to appeal Judge Green's decision or whether to file an amended brief. Morgan was to come to Chicago to confer with Sears but was unwilling to comment until after that meeting. ■

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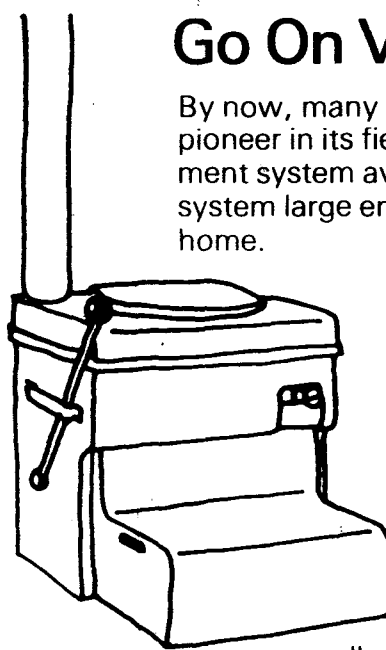
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SOUTH AFRICA

Western pressure is leading to a new regional approach

We must not side with the West or the East, says South Africa's foreign minister. Instead, he proposes to become foster mother to the area.

By Our South African Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE ON THE verge of a major realignment of its foreign policy, in which it would move away from its Western allies and protect its security by setting up a loose economic, political and military alliance of friendly states in the southern part of the continent.

A series of recent events prompted the apartheid regime to air publicly the possibility that it will end cooperation with the West to find political solutions for Namibia and Zimbabwe, and instead support "internal settlements" in both countries as part of a "constellation" of states under South African guidance, which would also include the smaller states of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, and the Bantustans.

Foreign minister Pik Botha, architect of the plan, first proposed it at a conference in Zurich in early March. "We must not side with either the West or the East in any conflict," Botha said. "We must concentrate all our efforts on our own region, develop assistance and on the building of understanding between black and white."

Later, the authoritative Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* added, "We want to untie ourselves from the West and from wanting to take all steps with the West's approval, we rather want to become the foster mother of a large area."

Several events have caused South Africa to consider such a realignment:

- The continuation of what the apartheid regime considers Western "duplicitous" over the Namibian agreement, and the growing hope that its own "internal settlement" there can take hold and defeat the guerrillas of SWAPO, the leftist liberation movement.

- What it considers the successful recent elections in Zimbabwe, accompanied by friendly overtures from Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who will head the internal settlement government there.

- The hope that with a Conservative in England a softer southern Africa policy will emerge, and that right-wingers in the U.S. Congress will end economic sanctions against Zimbabwe.

- Irritation with the U.S. over the recent "spy-plane" incident, in which Pretoria expelled several U.S. military attaches for allegedly overflying nuclear installations here.

- Finally, the ruling National Party hopes to put the festering Infogate scandal behind it with a bold new initiative in foreign affairs.

In Namibia, South Africa claims the West and the UN have reneged on their promises, specifically by now agreeing with SWAPO's demand that it be permitted military bases within the territory during internationally-supervised elections. In fact, the apartheid regime is betting that its stand-in, the multi-racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which has a similar orientation to the Smith-Muzorewa settlement in Zimbabwe, can rule the country and slowly gain

international recognition, without risking defeat by SWAPO in UN elections.

South Africa realizes it will have to keep its military presence in the territory for some time at least, but it apparently feels enough Namibians will go along with the DTA to limit SWAPO's support. As a first step, Pretoria is considering outlawing the non-violent "internal wing" of SWAPO, which it has permitted to operate, though under severe restrictions.

In Zimbabwe, South Africa was heartened by the recent elections, which first reports claimed had attracted 65 percent of the electorate to the polls. It hopes a Tory victory in May, coupled with possible U.S. congressional action, will relax sanctions and give the Muzorewa/Smith regime a good chance to survive. Pretoria will probably recognize the new government quickly and step up economic and possibly military aid.

The constellation would also include closer ties with the small (each has fewer than one million population) states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, which although formally independent are already firmly within Pretoria's economic orbit. Of the three, Botswana is the most outspokenly anti-apartheid (it is one of the five "front-line" states), but it will certainly feel the increased pressure of geographical near-isolation if the new alliance system comes about.

Pretoria also envisions the Bantustans as forming part of the new system: two are already "independent," a third, Venda, will become so later this year. The mini-states are completely puppets—South Africa subsidizes them and controls them politically—but membership in the commonwealth could bring some coveted international recognition, at least from the constellation's other members.

The projected alliance system flows naturally from a basic, long-standing tenet of South African foreign policy: Pretoria has never sought to export apartheid, arguing that it is a specific solution to the country's "unique problems." Throughout the '60s and early '70s, South Africa attempted through its "dialogue" and "detente" policies to reach a *modus vivendi* with moderate black states. The policy was shattered by Pretoria's abortive 1975 invasion of Angola, which provoked universal condemnation in black Africa, but this latest scheme is simply a new formulation of an old desire.

A ring of friendly, black-ruled neighbors would enhance South Africa's own strategic position with respect to its guerrilla war, which has already started on a small scale. Also, the new system would provide markets for South African manufactured goods, which have long sought regional and continental outlets.

Much of the new plan, particularly Botha's remarks about "neutrality" between East and West, is clearly just so much brave talk. The immense Western trade with and investment in apartheid will not—and cannot—end tomorrow.

Moreover, the plan is an enormous gamble for Pretoria. If the internal settlements in Namibia and Zimbabwe take hold, the apartheid regime will have won



Ananias Ipondoka, one of the 70 SWAPO internal wing supporters who was detained after a peaceful protest demonstration last December, shows where his teeth were extracted by pliers by the South African police.

valuable time. But such an outcome is highly doubtful: SWAPO is already stepping up guerrilla war, especially in northern Namibia, its stronghold just across the border from friendly Angola. And more recent reports from Salisbury indicate that the much-heralded vote turnout in Zimbabwe may have been as low as 42 percent, and not the officially recorded 65 percent. What's more, the Patriotic Front guerrillas, who apparently laid low during the elections, are back in action, and reportedly increasing their operations in urban areas. The overall

death toll for April could exceed the record 801 killed last September.

The prospect which has long horrified Pretoria's policymakers could come to pass—the South African military mired in multiple, no-win conflicts beyond its borders. Such a scenario would not only further polarize world opinion and undermine the fragile legitimacy of the internal settlement governments; more ominously, from Pretoria's standpoint, it would also drain South African resources, increase unrest at home and hasten the end of the apartheid regime itself. ■

Hanging of Mahlangu

"I first knew him back in Pretoria, in Mamelodi township, some years ago. We used to sell fruits and sweets on the trains together. His father had skipped, his mother was poor, and he sold to raise money for school fees. I knew that he became politically active, but he was always very quiet. He never talked about what he was doing."

The speaker was a young, black South African refugee who lives in a nearby, black-ruled country. He was talking the day after the Pretoria government hanged 23-year-old Solomon Mahlangu, a guerrilla fighter, despite worldwide appeals for clemency.

"They want to make us too afraid to keep on with the guerrilla struggle," the refugee continued. "But it has just made us more determined than ever."

Capital punishment is commonplace in South Africa. Last year, 105 people, all but one of them black, were hanged. But the execution of Mahlangu was the first political hanging since 1966, when John Harris, a white revolutionary, went to the gallows for planting a bomb in a train station that accidentally killed an elderly woman.

Mahlangu was hanged for the murder of two white men in Goch Street, Johannesburg, in June 1977, even though the state never alleged that he had pulled the trigger. He was part of a three-man African National Congress guerrilla group that infiltrated into the country and became involved in a shoot-out. The man who the government alleged fired the fatal

shots, Mondy Motloung, was seriously wounded and judged unfit to stand trial. The third, Lucky Mahlangu (no relation), escaped. The government says it does not know where he is, but an American television crew located him in Zambia last year.

The circumstances of the affair are shadowy, but one well-placed source claims the three were only intending to infiltrate into Soweto, but were followed by the police, who had probably been tipped off by an informer. The two men were killed as the threesome tried to escape through a warehouse.

Every black leader here, as well as President Carter, the British trade union movement, the UN Security Council, Western European governments and others asked State President Vorster for clemency before the execution. Hundreds maintained an all-night vigil beside Martha Mahlangu, the condemned man's mother, the night before the execution. To avoid further protest, the Department of Prisons buried him in a different township, and revealed the grave number to the family only after several days had passed.

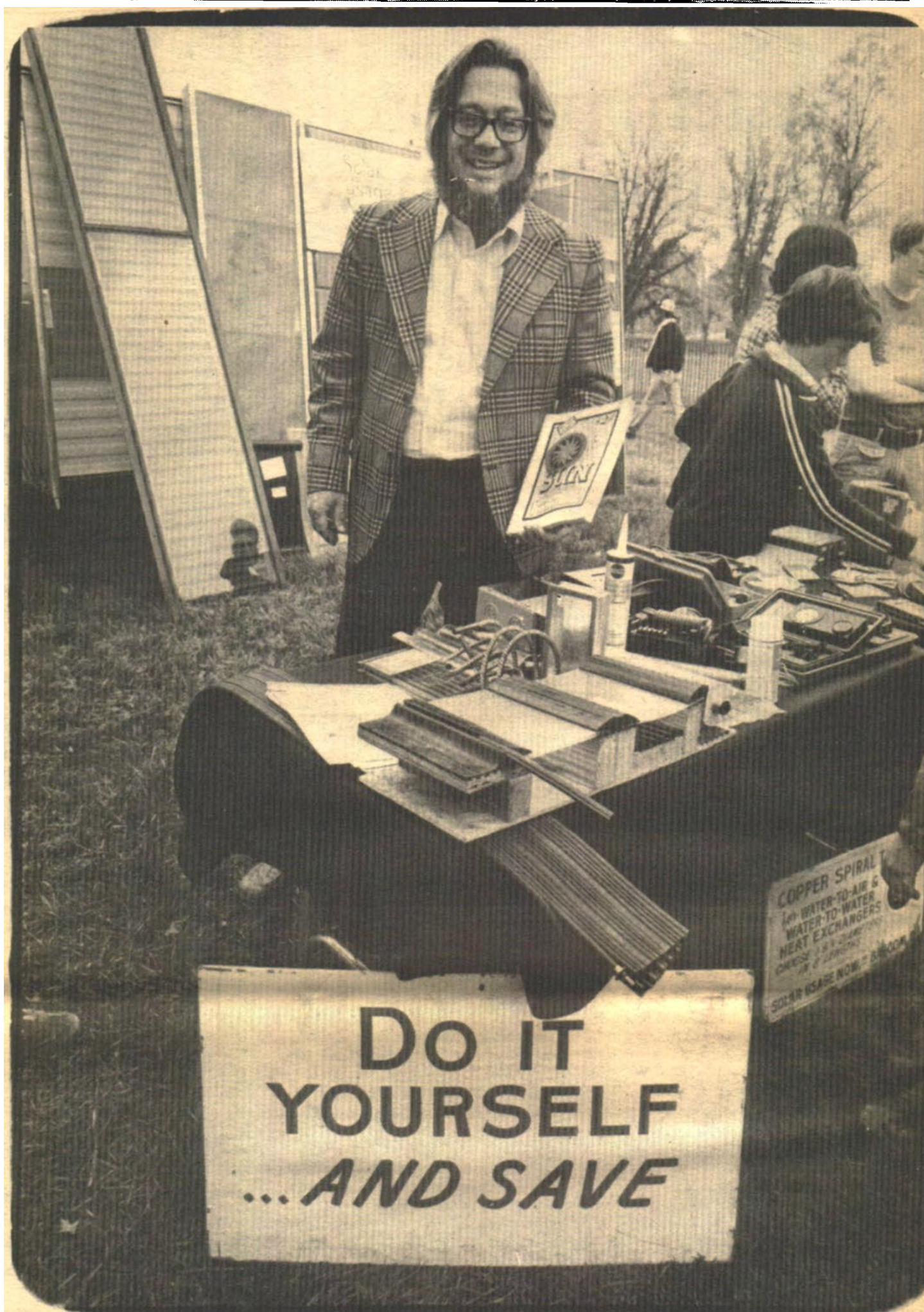
The young refugee explained that the threesome were "sent in to keep up the people's morale, to let those in the struggle know we were fighting back."

An older guerrilla leader added, "We are going to be patient. They want us to fight now. But we will pick the time—we will fight when we are ready to."

—South Africa correspondent



▲ **Wood Gasifier** developed by the Georgia Forestry Commission. This heat producing device is now cost comparative with natural gas and #2 fuel oil, for heating on a commercial rather than residential scale. Wood chips, from saw-mill wastes or forest trimmings, are fed into the slot on the left; electricity pumps air into the fan at top; and the unit produces room heat that leaves no smoke or pollutants. A number of Georgia saw mills are now drying lumber by this method, which uses their own waste of bark and other residues rather than fossil fuels. The Georgia Forestry Commission is installing a large wood gasifier in the Battey State Hospital to provide room heat and run the sterilization equipment. The gasifier can use existing natural gas furnaces. The 1 percent residue is pure potash, an excellent fertilizer.



TINKER TECH

By Ellen Perley Frank



The Tinkerer is a classic American character—thrifty, self-reliant. With the strangulating price rise in fossil fuels, energy tinkering is proliferating these days, particularly among low

income people, who have been hardest hit. As Denis Hayes, director of the Washington-based Solar Lobby put it, "The tinkers cannot change the market place." But their simple, inexpensive energy devices challenge federal energy policy, which assumes solar sources are to be researched rather than used.

Washington was deluged with energy tinkers in late April, when ACT 79—the

◀ Minute Man Storm Windows

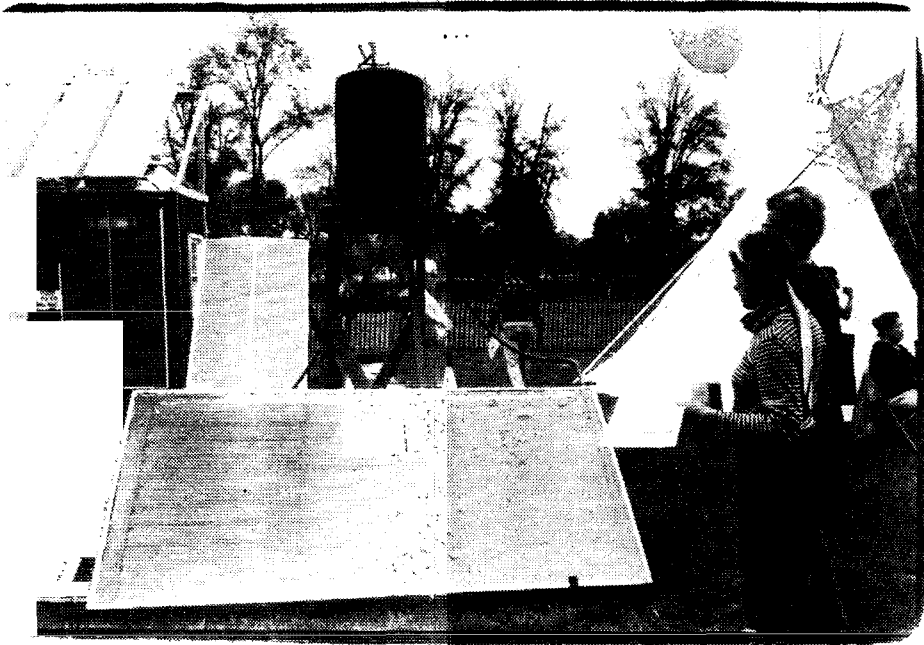
Albert Moreno, of East Flat Rock, North Carolina, is a classic tinkerer, proud of his six patents. He invented this dirt-cheap (approximately \$6 for a standard window) device a year ago, and his largest sales have been to community action agencies that winterize poverty level homes. It is simply a shade of PVC plastic, which pulls down and is pressed against a durable two-sided tape on the window edges. Moreno boasted, "I've pulled this here shade up and down at least 500 times, and that tape hasn't worn a bit. If it does, you can just replace it for 40 cents."

Appropriate Community Technology Fair—brought a far-flung assortment of grass-roots energy and community activists into the capital for an outdoor exposition on the Mall. The four-day event was a capital city cousin to the alternative energy fairs that have become relatively common in rural areas of this country and Canada.

About 50,000 people strolled through the several hundred exhibits and workshops on "community-based technologies that are small, economically feasible—tend to minimize social and environmental costs and foster community self-reliance."

The Fair fit into an overall aim of alternative energy activists: to educate the public on the availability of solar sources, building a lobby that can challenge a federal budget woefully imbalanced towards hard technologies.

In fiscal year 1980, non-renewable energy sources will receive \$15 billion in federal subsidies. Solar energy gets \$165 million, with most of that money going into research rather than deployment of available technologies. That lack of funding was a frequent refrain in the workshops and lectures given by dozens of energy activists. Among them was Barry Commoner, who commented on the exhibits: "They are interesting demonstrations of alternative technologies, but this country cannot rely on *personal* energy policies. We need a federal energy policy based on renewable sources."



The Sun Catalog

Deahl of Bascom, Ohio, has been putting out this annual catalog of solar components for the past four years. His business operates like an auto parts store. He stocks 900 manufactured items, and orders from him by mail. They offer everything from solar frame kits to water insulation. With eight employees and 40,000 annual volume, Deahl's handy mail order business confirms that a lot of people are doing their own solarization. There are several similar catalogs on the market, but this is advantageously updated twice a year.

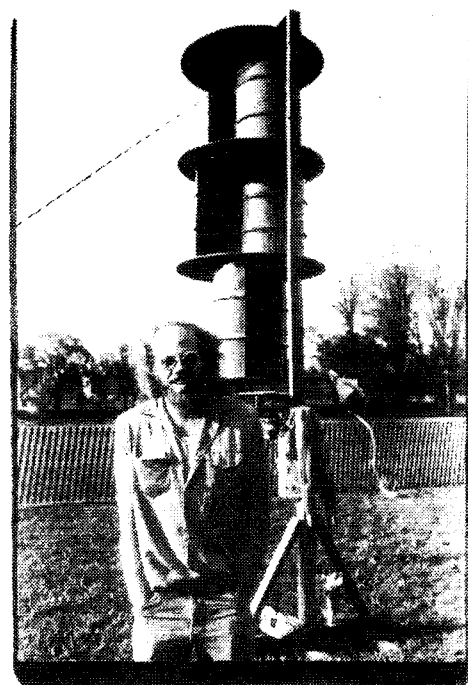
▲ CETA Solar Projects

CETA projects, funded through the Community Services Administration, are among the few ways the federal government directly supports installation of solar equipment. Pictured are a solar hot water collector (foreground), process heat collector, and (on the rear building) a passive wall collector, built by a CETA project in Lancaster County, Pa. These have been installed, for free, in low income homes, "usually senior citizens who own their homes, but can't afford to heat it." The installations, which have included solar greenhouses, cut utility bills by as much as 60 percent.



▲ Charcoal Gasifier

Ken Schmitt, a 21-year-old Iowa farmer, built this four-component, all-purpose energy source for \$1,000. It produces heat, electricity, methanol and ethanol. The fuel source is wood.



▲ Savonius Rotor Wind Machine

Brik Miller of Athens, W. Va., built this 780-watt capacity windmill for \$400. The split oil barrels rotate on a central rotor, sending power through a car alternator and storing electricity in four car batteries. The device needs a minimum 8 mph wind, and is designed to be on a tower. It will power four lightbulbs and a stereo, and Miller plans to build four more additional units to supply all his electrical needs. These are the only source of electricity in Miller's mountain home—he's firm about being independent of the Appalachian Power Company. The windmill, made from mostly salvaged materials, is constructed at a fraction of the cost of commercial windmills. Miller was inspired by someone in Twenty Nine Palms, Calif., who built ten of these for \$1,200, providing 3500 watts capacity.



▲ Wood Stoves

A staggering variety of available wood stoves exists, and with every manufacturer claiming the best design, the potential consumer is predictably confused. These two illustrate the price range. The white tile stove costs approximately \$3,500, installed. The highly functional "Free Flow" model is \$400.



▲ Chinese Design Biogas Digester-Greenhouse-Algae System

This system is legendary along the solar grapevine, because there are 6 million of these biogas digesters in China, built on a family or small home scale. Bob Hamburg and Alex Fazio (pictures) learned about them in Nepal, where they built approximately 50 in small villages while working with the Peace Corps. This is a model of a \$3,000 system they are building now on their farm in West Virginia. The greenhouse provides food; the biogas digester (at rear of greenhouse) consumes sewage and animal wastes, producing fertilizer and methane and other gases for combustible fuel, providing heating, cooking, lighting; a small pond above the digester grows algae, a high protein food additive for animals. This is a totally passive system, with no moving parts or energy needs, made of reinforced concrete and glass.

LETTERS

ABORTION I

YES, EVELYN SAMAS, IN MY QUIET moments I think of the killing of millions of human beings, in Richard Stith's phrase, "the innocents" (*ITT*, May 2). I think of the abused, beaten, starving children everywhere, privileged to die slow, bitter deaths, and I think of their mothers, privileged to watch. I think about how many of those innocents, having grown utterly unloved, will unlovingly kill and rape and maim and rob old people on the street and other children on their way to school. I think about how those grown children who are caught will be brutalized themselves by a penal system largely supported by the same folks and the same money that marches in the streets to protect "the innocent." I think about how handy those innocents are when a war comes around, and how inconvenient when they need food and homes and jobs.

And then I think about the women, and the girls barely beyond dolls since puberty comes now at 12, not 18. Surely we, too, are innocents? Or are we guilty, having had the audacity to survive to maturity, guilty of being female, perhaps? No, we are innocents, as well, and so I think of the coat-hangers, of toxemia and desperation, of blood and pain. I think of the women disowned by families for having got caught, knocked-up. I think of the ones who end up on the street as prostitutes, children themselves, many of them, whose ability to support themselves and freedom from pimp-violence may depend on abortions. Who's marching for them? The foster homes and the incest victims. The latch-key kids. The women with big full bruised bellies where their menfolk beat them, because beatings increase during pregnancy and the belly is a favorite target.

This world we are in is an ugly place, and the revolution ain't just around the corner. Each of us makes painful decisions every day, most of them economic and most of them at someone else's expense. If I make \$20,000 and spend it all to keep my family in comfort instead of giving away \$15,000 that could keep a whole village of Indian children alive, have I killed them? Yes, in a manner of speaking. I've used what another needs to survive, haven't I? And if I take a fetus out of my body and use my body for my survival at the fetus' expense, if I deny the other person the use of my body for its survival, I'm doing what each of us does every day.

Why then is abortion so particularly condemned? Why of all the painful, unjust choices spawned by this inequitable society is this one under such exceptional attack? Because this choice is in the hands of an individual female person. Because it is power in a woman's hands, power of the most dramatic and immediate kind. Because it won't do to condemn or even acknowledge what everybody does—everybody includes men. Women are to be viewed with suspicion, and an individual woman seeing the world, acknowledging its appalling realities, and then taking power over and accepting responsibility for her own life, let alone the life of another, is a challenge, an affront to the normal, an ugly reminder of what we have wrought and of what we mostly tolerate.

It is not enough to be for life. One must be for the living, a more difficult but realistic idea by which to live.

—Pat Madsen
Washington, D.C.

ABORTION II

THE SOCIALISTS I WORKED WITH BACK in the '30s were deeply committed to greater economic, political and personal freedom for us all. But times change, and if Socialists like Richard Stith (*ITT*, May 2) are now embracing fascist ideolo-

gies dedicated to socio-sexual regimentation and oppression of society's politically weaker sex, please count me out. Who should control the private production of human life, if not the woman whose own body is being cannibalized to produce it?

If there is any moral premise that should not be debatable, it is every woman's right to own and control her own sex organs, as men do theirs. Antichoice zealots would howl the house down if anyone else tried to stake a claim on their reproductive organs—for the "common good," of course!—but show no qualms about applying naked political coercion, wherever possible, to force others into their own mold, as evidenced by recent legislative raids on our hallowed Bill of Rights all around the country.

I find it hard to rationalize their obstinate bigotry as prompted wholly by "unusually serious adherence" to moral strictures on killing. Where were these pro-lifers during the Vietnam war, when so many of us were knocking ourselves out trying to stop that senseless slaughter? The real argument, however, does not turn on moral scruples about killing people, nor even on whether one can accurately categorize unfinished ova, sperm, embryos, or nonviable fetuses as "people"; but is rooted, I find, in their basic premise that it is God, not people, who makes children. The conflict, therefore, is basically a religious war that the state should stay clear of.

I was not only an unwanted child myself, but was tricked and coerced into producing another one, too, with fairly predictable results: a nervous breakdown, a broken marriage, eventual psychotherapy for the two oldest girls, and three emotional crackups that required institutional care for the youngest and most victimized of the lot, who finally terminated her perpetual misery by jumping off the 24th floor of the county office building at age 21. Some people never seem to learn that unhappy parents can only make unhappy children, whether they mean to or not.

—Audrey M. Patton
Moody, Mo.

MORE MOORE ON ABORTION

OF THE FOUR RESPONSES (*ITT*, APR. 4) to my earlier commentary opposing Medicaid subsidy for abortions, only the last offered a rebuttal to my position. The other three questioned the right of a socialist newspaper to print a particular viewpoint with which the writers personally disagree.

A prohibition against anti-abortion opinion, which these persons seem to want, would effectively censor the views of people like Dick Gregory, Jesse Jackson, Cesar Chavez, Dr. Constance Redbird Uri, Russell Means, Daniel Berrigan, Richard John Neuhaus, most religious pacifists, and (according to every opinion poll I have seen) the majority of black and Chicana women.

As a single mother of six and a recipient of AFDC, Medicaid and food stamp benefits, I reiterate my position that poor women neither "demand" abortions nor freely choose them. How can any woman "voluntarily" submit to a free abortion if she is financially unable to refuse? Why would we adopt this as a goal when it does nothing to redistribute power or wealth?

Pro-choice advocates make a serious error in judgment when attempting to isolate the abortion decision from the realities that motivate it. Although the theory of abortion "rights" may appear on the surface to be compatible with social reform, its effect is the opposite. Free abortion, as part of a grossly ineffective anti-poverty program, serves only to accommodate the many injustices faced by the poor. Because it derives its logic from these inequities, it serves to perpetuate them—easing pres-

sure off the government to implement comprehensive human development programs and undermining the concept of shared responsibility.

Access to abortion goes far beyond the realm of individual freedom and privacy; it is a question of how we as a society define the contemporary problems of child-bearing and child care among the disadvantaged. Abortion as a solution reflects the narrowest possible interpretation of these problems.

—Elizabeth Moore
Palmer Park, Md.

AND REPLY I

ONCE AGAIN ELIZABETH MOORE DELiberately obscures the real political status of the abortion debate. We hope *ITT* readers will not be misled. Poor women *cannot* get publicly-funded abortions in most of the U.S. The anti-abortion movement, in which Moore is an activist, is responsible for this. It has lobbied against free abortions in Congress and 37 state legislatures. An estimated 300,000 women, many third-world and most poor, needed but were denied Medicaid money for abortions in 1978. We doubt that these women's lives have been improved, or the federal government has become more responsive to their other needs, now that they cannot get Medicaid-funded abortions, but this is exactly the spurious logic of Moore's arguments and those of the anti-abortion movement.

Moore is also wrong when she attacks pro-choice advocates as narrow and single-issue. The socialist wing of the pro-abortion movement has consistently fought to unite the defense of abortion and other reproductive rights with demands for redistribution of wealth, child care and other social service programs, etc. A good account of the socialist-feminist position on abortion and other reproductive rights is *Women Under Attack: Abortion, Sterilization Abuse and Reproductive Freedom*, which can be ordered for \$2.50 from CARASA, P.O. Box 124, Cathedral Station, N.Y. 10025.

But above all, the right to abortion is part of a woman's right to control her own body and we will defend it on these grounds. Most women, including many Catholics (48 percent of whom support legal abortion *despite* the Church's opposition) understand this. The anti-abortion movement's real target is the right to abortion of all women.

Ellen DuBois for the
Coalition to Defend Reproductive Rights,
San Francisco

AND REPLY II

ELIZABETH MOORE'S ANTI-ABORTION article (*ITT*, Mar. 6) confronts some major abuses which *mandatory* abortion could cause, and points out that abortion on demand does not necessarily eliminate other conditions creating poverty. These are important observations. However, her conclusion that abortion as a choice is therefore contrary to poor people is specious.

First, poor women as well as other women must have the choice whether or not to bear a child for whatever reasons. It is by definition a woman's choice, and nobody, whether state or individual male, should have the ultimate decision except the woman who is pregnant.

Second, Moore's statement, "Providing free abortions only succeeds in taking one more thing away from the poor woman," sounds exactly like sentiments expressed by pro-slavery people as an anti-abolition argument. "Giving them their freedom only takes away their innocence and happiness."

Third, there is a glaring omission in her paraphrase (intended, obviously) of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence: "—that all are created equal and endowed with the inalienable right to life—" The Declaration states "all men..." and women are still not legal (nor traditional) recipients of all these rights. Further, choosing an abortion is a last result, as Karen Mulhauser pointed out. The availability of this choice is vital and imperative as a wom-

an's inalienable right, and especially in face of the very high morbidity from butcher, back-alley, illegal abortions.

The choice of safe, legal abortion is a woman's right to life. Poor women must have the same choice and option of abortion as more privileged women. To declare that abortion is not good for poor women is blatantly condescending and patronizing. Poor women can decide for themselves, collectively and individually, what is good for them. It is the choice that is the issue.

—Jeannette Muzima
Boston, Mass.

ENJOYING SEX ORGANS

I'D HATE TO GET IN AUDREY PATTON'S way while she's enjoying her sex organs like a man (*Letters*, *ITT*, Apr. 29). If it were masturbation, I'd have no objection. Or if two consenting partners had a sterile union, then the level of their sex-organ enjoyment would again be none of my business.

But if people bring a new human life into existence, then there is a third party whose needs for just and humane treatment must be considered. And since she or he is unable to articulate these needs, it is clearly up to the rest of us to do so.

This social obligation to protect the interests of a new human life is not unheard-of on the left. It is, in fact, close to the heart of the anti-nuclear movement. We are outraged at the violence of Iodine-131 and Strontium-90 upon the bodies of kids at first and second trimester. It is we on the left who have campaigned, in this instance anyhow, to make the world safe for the unborn.

Ms. Patton's whimsey about sperm ignores the facts of biology. Sperm and ova are cells belonging to the adult male and female, respectively. But, as scientists first observed by microscope in 1827, from conception onward we have, not just a new cell, but a new organism. It is not part of, nor does it belong to, either the father or the mother. This new individual, with his or her own tissues, organs and systems—own heart, own blood, own brain—has, like Ms. Patton, the right to enjoy the use of its organs without interference.

Human rights begin where human life begins. And where human life begins has not been a matter of speculation since 1827.

—Juli Loesch
Erie, Pa.

WISHY-WASHY

ANY GOOD LIBERAL NEWSPAPER could have published the sentiments contained in *ITT*'s wishy-washy, ahistorical editorial about the butcher of Chile, Augusto Pinochet.

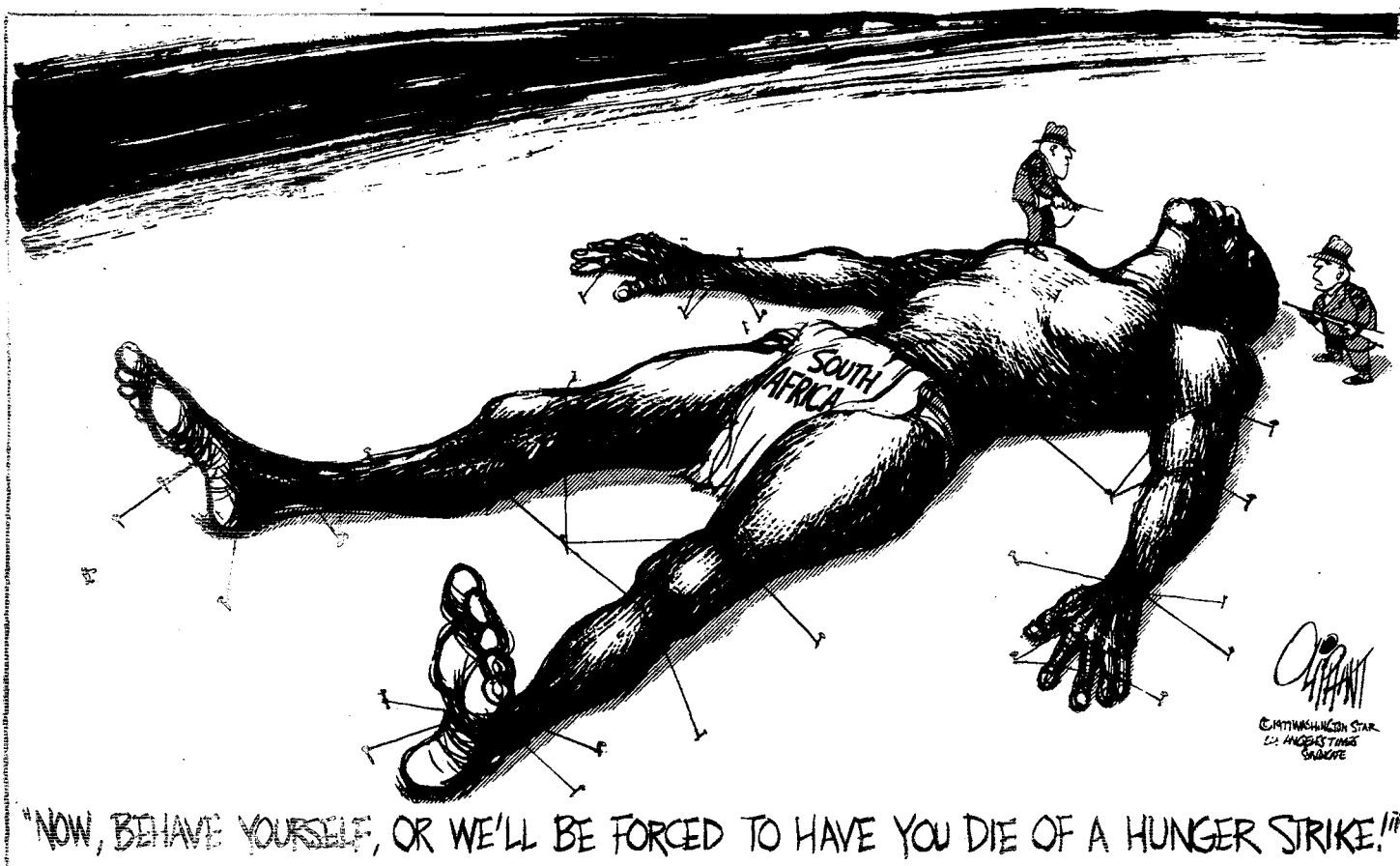
I thought *ITT* was a socialist paper, one whose editors understand the viciousness of the ruling class of the leading imperialist nation on the globe today. I guess I was misinformed. Not only was there not the merest reference to how the scum who now run Chile managed to get where they are (with direct support and training of the American ruling class in and out of government), but readers were also treated to absurd nationalistic saber-rattling. Who cares if our "Justice" Department was ridiculed and America's sovereignty mocked?

It would be delightful to see Pinochet and crew fall prey to their own foul methods. But it's a bit hypocritical to call for the extradition of a few triggermen when the commandants of mass murder in Chile—Henry Kissinger, Richard Helms and the gangsters at International Telephone and Telegraph—go free right here at home.

—Rita Romcoe-Smith
Indianapolis

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

U.S./SOUTH AFRICA



Our special obligation

By Joseph M. Schwartz

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS A CONSIDERABLE political movement has developed in the U.S. in support of corporate withdrawal from South Africa. While largely confined to the campuses, the movement has succeeded in securing some union as well as religious and university support for shareholder activity or divestiture of stock holdings. If the U.S. government is ever to back UN economic sanctions against South Africa, however, a mass movement which has roots in the Third World, working and middle class communities must be built.

Socialists have already played an important role in the campus movement for divestiture. It is imperative that we develop strategies for incorporating South Africa support activities into our community and trade union work. The recent triumph of the Berkeley initiative in favor of divestiture of city funds in banks loaning money to the South African regime is an important breakthrough, but it is only a beginning. What the democratic left must first develop, however, is a non-rhetorical analysis which concretely illustrates the role American capital plays in maintaining the apartheid system.

Profits in apartheid.

The South African system of apartheid is founded on the exploitation of a black labor force reduced to conditions of virtual bondage. Black South Africans have been stripped of citizenship in their own nation, being forced to assume the citizenship of the puppet Bantustans, whose leaders are appointed by the Pretoria government. Though blacks constitute 80 percent of the South African population, the Bantustans occupy only 13 percent of the land.

Blacks allowed to leave the impoverished and overpopulated Bantustans to work in the urban industrial centers are prohibited from bringing "superfluous appendages" (wives and children) along with them, and are forced to live in detention camp-like barracks. In order to ensure that the system of labor migration to and from urban ghettos and Bantustans operates smoothly, each African 16 years of age or older must carry a pass 24 hours a day, showing whether he or she has the "right" to be in a particular part of the country.

Black workers receive on average one-tenth the wages received by white workers (and this wage gap has greatly increased). According to UNISCO, approximately one-half of all black South Afri-

can children die before the age of six from malnutrition (and South Africa is, in terms of GNP, by far the "wealthiest" country in Africa).

The labor controls under apartheid explain why the rate of return on investment in South Africa ranks among the highest in the world (18 percent after taxes before the oil crisis, 8-12 percent since then). This is why American and West European firms invest there in the first place.

The South African regime is heavily dependent on foreign corporations for capital, high-level technology, foreign exchange (critical for arms purchases), and tax revenues. Foreign investment represents 25 percent of South African domestic industrial capital formation; 20 percent of that foreign investment is American—\$1.8 billion.

Role of American corporations.

American firms are playing a critical role in the Pretoria regime's feverish drive for economic self-sufficiency. A Raytheon Corporation subsidiary is the key firm in the massive SASOL II coal-gasification project. The Foxboro Corporation supplied the technology that enabled South Africa to become self-sufficient in uranium enrichment. In addition, American firms provide more than 70 percent of South Africa's computer needs, 50 percent of her crude oil imports, 35 percent of her automobiles and trucks, and \$2 billion per year in bank loans (30 percent of South Africa's foreign credit needs).

Not only is much of this technology unavailable elsewhere, but our Western allies realize that only the U.S. has the diplomatic and military capacity to protect the substantial allied investment. Apologists for the American corporate presence often argue that U.S. corporate withdrawal would only mean an influx of Western European and Japanese capital.

Such a scenario ignores the climate of investor uncertainty which would surround South Africa immediately upon an announcement of U.S. withdrawal. In addition, the psychological boost to the already more powerful West European and Japanese anti-apartheid movements would be immeasurable. (The Japanese movement is already sufficiently strong that no Japanese firms can invest directly in South Africa; rather, they invest in U.S. and other foreign subsidiaries.)

The impact of U.S. corporate involvement is more extensive than raw economic figures indicate. In the words of former U.S. Ambassador to South Africa William Bowdler, U.S. investment psychologically bolsters the Pretoria regime

"because of U.S. leadership in the West, our predominant economic strength and influence, and our professed belief in democracy and racial equality." U.S. corporate investment both constrains U.S. foreign policy and serves as an economic vote of confidence in the racist regime. UN Ambassador Andrew Young to this day continues to exercise the U.S.'s Security Council veto against international economic sanctions against South Africa.

Black resistance.

Almost all independent black leaders and anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa have demanded that foreign corporations withdraw from their country. The lengthy list of South Africans supporting this demand includes the late Steven Biko, the late Chief Albert J. Lithuli (Nobel Peace prize winner), Beyers Naude, head of the multi-racial Christian Institute, and editor and exile-in-America Donald Woods.

They support the organizations representing millions of non-white South Africans including the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black People's Convention, the Indian Congress of South Africa, the South African Student Organization, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Council of Churches.

International organizations which have endorsed the call for total corporate withdrawal include the UN General Assembly, the World Council of Churches, the OAU, the ILO, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In the U.S., the NAACP, the Congressional Black Caucus, and the AFL-CIO Executive Council have endorsed the call for corporate withdrawal.

Though calling for corporate withdrawal is a treasonable offense in South Africa, punishable by death, black political leaders vigorously support corporate withdrawal (the only noteworthy opponents are several Bantustan leaders, such as Gastha Buthelezi, who are appointed by the South African government). They do so because they understand that the critical economic support and legitimization which foreign corporations provide for the regime outweighs whatever minimal benefits may come from labor reforms. U.S. multinationals are highly capital intensive: though they represent 5 percent of South African industrial capital formation they employ only 0.4 percent of the black workforce.

The minimal attempts by American corporations to improve their labor practices has received considerable publicity in publications such as *Time* and *Fortune*.

These publications consistently fail to mention the South African government's insistence that labor practice reforms not threaten the essence of apartheid. Former Minister of Plural Relations Connie Muldar (famous for the "Muldargate Scandal") personally intervened with U.S. corporations to alter the much-vaunted "Sullivan Principles" to exclude the rights of blacks to form independent trade unions.

Pretoria's belief that minimal labor reforms pose no threat to apartheid is undoubtedly correct, for what does desegregating corporate toilets do to eliminate the brutal migrant labor system or to provide blacks with political and civil freedom? Would American slavery have been more tolerable if rations had been increased by 15 percent? General Motors talks of labor reform at the same time that, according to the *New York Times* (May 19, 1978) it has been organizing "local commando units" to protect its South African plants from urban rioters.

The price of freedom.

Black South Africans know all too well that apartheid is a system of oppression, enforced by a legal and repressive apparatus. Major political changes will occur only when the South African regime realizes that it no longer has the backing of the West. Such political and economic isolation will either weaken the Afrikaners' ability to combat the already growing resistance movement or it will shock them into abandoning the *laager* mentality and engaging in the first serious negotiations with the black majority.

The South African regime obsessively fears international ostracism. Their multimillion dollar overseas propaganda campaign emphasizes their claim to be a "bastion of Western civilization." South African propagandists and apologists continually employ the bogeyman of "growing Soviet influence" in southern Africa as a means of neutralizing vigorous liberal opposition.

The democratic left must respond forthrightly to this charge: It is precisely U.S. support of colonialists and oppressive regimes in Africa that has provided the Soviets with their supposedly golden opportunity (likely to be a frustrating one, given Africa's long tradition of non-alignment). By funding the Portuguese fight against the liberation movements in their ex-colonies and by supporting Haile Selassie's feudal regime for decades, the U.S. fulfilled the Soviet's claim that the USSR was the lone friend of social progress in Africa. To apologists of Pretoria we say: "Do we intend once again to provide the Soviets with a 'golden opportunity'?"

Only an immediate break of Western economic ties with the Botha regime can prevent the feverish drive for economic self-sufficiency. This is why black political organizations in South Africa are ready and willing to accept the temporary hardships that corporate withdrawal may impose. They argue compellingly that they are suffering already and a foreign economic withdrawal will hurt the still-complacent white minority much more fundamentally.

Given the rapidly increasing level of political repression, foreign economic pressure may represent one of the few remaining ways of shortening the duration of violence and bloodshed. The late Nobel Peace prize winner Chief Albert Lithuli once stated: "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail limited hardships for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the days of blood, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay."

As citizens of a nation that began to dismantle its own form of legal apartheid only 15 years ago (and where the economic and social legacy of apartheid still lives on) we have a special obligation to support liberation movements against regimes whose very foundations rest on legalized racism. As citizens of a nation that is a major investor in apartheid our responsibility is particularly acute. We can fulfill that responsibility if we incorporate anti-apartheid work into our local and national coalition efforts around other pressing issues of social and economic justice.

Joseph N. Schwartz is a graduate student in government at Howard University. He is National Youth Organizer of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

BOOKS

A balanced budget and the expansion of the public sector

THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION: THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE

Marcus G. Raskin, editor
Transaction Books, 1978, \$5.95

By Harry Brill

The way things are shaping up over the federal budget, it will not be a happy fiscal year for the disadvantaged, including a growing number of middle-class citizens who can no longer afford such basics as adequate medical care and decent housing. Under Carter's administration, the corporate noose has been growing tighter, with cutbacks at a time when the expansion of services and programs is desperately needed.

In one of the 22 studies that comprise this book, Richard J. Barnet poses a dilemma that also presents an opportunity for the democratic left. Americans view government as the solution to critical problems, but they also hate big government. Conservatives, by exploiting the disillusionment with many government social problems, have been tilting public opinion toward the anti-government side of the American ambivalence. The obvious political task ahead is to develop programs that can restore credibility to the government while redistributing economic and political power.

For programs to be both attractive and credible, they have to be imaginative without being pie in the sky, and down to earth without being ready made for co-optation and exploitation. On the whole, the essays in this collection, which explore how the federal budget can be employed to achieve progressive reforms, capably demonstrates that what is desirable is also plausible.

The analysts realize that durable progressive programs require either circumventing or limiting the role of private enterprise, particularly big business.

Housing specialists Chester Hartman and Michael Stone propose that in order to provide decent housing at affordable rents to low and middle income people, private rental housing should be replaced

by revitalized public housing and condominium ownership. They show how public housing could be built and maintained at reasonable rates, through government subsidies and financing, and the elimination of interest charges by bypassing the private banking industry.

Hartman and Stone avoid the serious mistake of focusing exclusively on the benefits provided to users. They clearly understand that the future shape of housing programs depends essentially on how they are administered and financed, no matter how attractive they may initially appear and be.

This same sensitivity penetrates Louise Lander's study on national health insurance. In reviewing some major congressional bills, including proposals by Sen. Kennedy, she illustrates the inherent limitations of even the most comprehensive forms of national health insurance when the government finances services through the private market rather than providing them directly. The danger is that money spent on the privately delivered health system ultimately promotes higher prices rather than better health care.

No matter how the government finances programs, one thing is certain; the guns and butter years of the '50s and '60s are over. The social and economic yearnings of the public can no longer be gratified without drastic reductions in the military budget.

The section on American world engagement is written by Earl C. Ravenal, formerly an analyst for the Secretary of Defense. Instead of settling for easy reassurances that defense spending could be slashed without sacrificing American security, Ravenal argues for a new direction in foreign policy that entails living with greater uncertainty. If communists come to power constitutionally in other countries, then we should not resort to illegal, immoral, or coercive means to stop them. His commentary on foreign policy applies to the domestic scene as well. Without the capacity for risk, democratic institutions cannot survive.

Indeed, in contrast to the elitism that characterizes American professionalism,

the expertise of these scholars leads them in a democratic direction. In the section on budget financing and planning, Marcus Raskin makes the important recommendation of holding official public hearings on the federal budget in each congressional district. The ability to translate technical issues into terms suited to popular politics is a major strength of this book.

Understandably, many members of the left are horrified at the prospect of a balanced budget, which they realize, given the unfavorable distribution of power, threatens the viability and even the survival of progressive programs.

Arguing from the left, however, William B. Cannon claims that "a balanced budget is better equipped than an unbalanced budget to provide full employment without inflation." The question is how, not whether, to balance the budget to achieve these objectives. Those who see only fiscal sin in a balanced budget should ponder over the implications of the public paying for debt service well in excess of \$40 billion in interest alone, mainly to financial institutions and rich investors.

The main underlying theme of this book is an especially controversial issue

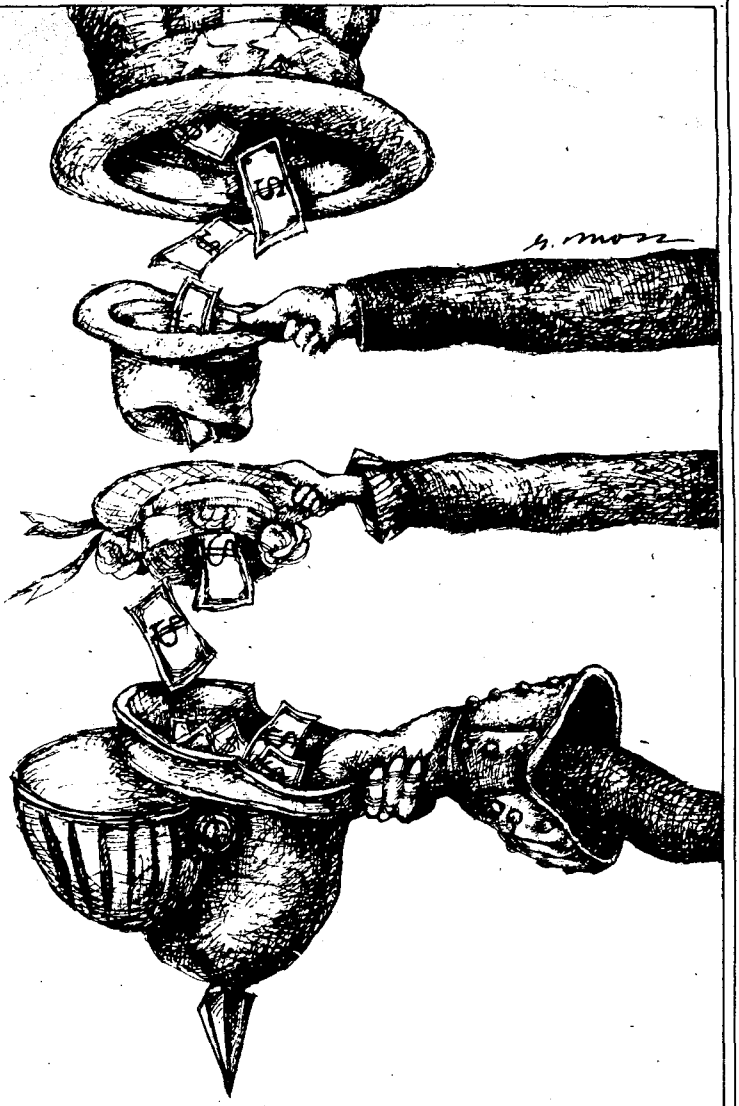
among socialists. These studies suggest that a mixed economy can work, a position which is counterepoised by a socialist perspective that maintains that the co-existence of a public and private sector will invariably favor the dominance of business interests.

In the final section of the book, which deals with economic questions, economists Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison show how overdevelopment in the private monopolized sector is mainly responsible for the underdeveloped public sector. Their proposal is to tip the balance through large scale public investment in favor of the public sector, which, in the areas of energy and transportation, could effectively compete with private business.

Assessing the limits as well as the potentialities of a democratically-based anti-capitalist response in a mixed economy is beyond the purview of this book. But they are certainly questions that this fine collection of studies inspires.

The Federal Budget and Social Reconstruction is available for \$5.95 from Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Harry Brill is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.



WILLIAM BURR

German Social Dems look to new Europe

HERBERT WEHNER, 73-YEAR-OLD PARLIAMENTARY LEADER of the West German Social Democratic Party (SDP), plays a central role in the party's left tilt on German reunification. A Communist International official before the war, Wehner became disillusioned with Soviet-style socialism during a wartime stint in Moscow. After the war he joined the SDP but cultivated ties with German Communist leaders such as current East German party chairman Erich Honnecker. During the 1950s, Wehner was among the Social Democrats who advocated a political confederation with East German and ending the cold war.

Wehner is reportedly conferring with the Russians (via East European intermediaries) over his ideas for a confederation and a German common market. None of the details are known; they will probably be fleshed out in the give and take of negotiations and as the Soviets introduce their own proposals.

Since a common market involves uniform economic regulations and commercial law, one embracing a socialist and a

capitalist system will have important social and political implications. It would test the durability of public enterprise in the East in competition with West German corporations.

Success for socialist enterprise would strengthen the West German trade union program for public ownership of key industries. But if West German socialists have it their way, the common market may start on a largely socialist footing.

The plan for an economic community is in the works already in a very modest

way. Talks for laying down the infrastructure of such a union have already begun. There has been, for example, an agreement to improve significant road and water links between East and West. East Germany is anxiously seeking such cooperation. It has been running serious trade deficits for several years and wants to increase its trade with West Germany, already its biggest capitalist market.

Wehner claims he does not want to abandon the Atlantic alliance, but he has been critical of NATO policy and has interpreted Soviet behavior as a "defensive" reaction to the U.S. cold war program. He has been particularly critical of recent U.S.-initiated discussions in NATO of a plan to deploy medium range Pershing II nuclear rockets in West Germany as a counter-weight to the Soviet SS-20. These would place the Soviet Union in striking distance of Germany.

Fearful that this plan will stir up cold war tensions and jeopardize relations with Moscow, Wehner and SDP general-secretary Egon Bahr have called for a summit-level conference to discuss disarmament and significant reductions of Soviet and U.S. forces in Europe. European observers regard this offer, backed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, as especially significant because it is basically a long-standing Soviet proposal. Its realization could make such seemingly intractable issues as German unification easier to manage. Military tensions surrounding the problem would largely vanish.

In recent months Wehner has been particularly critical of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, leader of the Free Democratic Party, the junior partner in Schmidt's coalition. Wehner claims that Genscher has been responsible for the slow progress at the Vienna talks on arms reduction and that Genscher is working on the behest of the U.S. These criticisms have implications not only for the progress of German-Soviet rapprochement. Wehner and other socialist politicians think that Schmidt's personal prestige is so great that the SDP could break with the Free Democrats and still remain the governing party. Wehner sees the coalition as an obstacle to implementing socialization proposals.

Though Schmidt and his Defense Minister Hans Apel, Schmit's designated successor, distance themselves from Wehner's view of Soviet foreign policy, neither do they wish to be rushed into agreeing to a missile project that could poison relations with the USSR. Once NATO formally presents the plan, it is expected that Bonn will reject the proposal that the missiles bear the iron cross and also will insist that all NATO countries must take the same missiles. Since Britain, the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark have already rejected this "gift," Bonn's conditions will thwart the U.S. design. The current U.S. demand that the Germans increase their share of the NATO budget will lead to additional strains, perhaps

Continued on page 18.

IN DEPTH

'Productivity crisis': economists ride again

By Richard B. Du Boff

MAINSTREAM ECONOMISTS, THE SAME PEOPLE WHO PROMISED you the "guns and butter" war in Vietnam 14 years ago, are now warning you that our productivity is lagging. Suddenly, productivity, or output per worker, has become the watchword, insistently hammered on by President Carter's economic counselors. The January 1979 *Economic Report of the President*, written by Charles Schultze and his Council of Economic Advisers, devoted special attention to "the productivity slowdown" of the 1970s. The identical theme was sounded in a widely publicized January 1979 study by the New York Stock Exchange, *Reaching a Higher Standard of Living*—it too the product of mainstream economists (John Kendrick of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Edward Denison of the Brookings Institution, Lawrence Klein of the University of Pennsylvania, Albert Rees and Richard Quandt of Princeton, and William Freund of the Exchange itself).

The message has since been picked up, and relayed by *New York Times* editorial writers Peter Passell and Leonard Silk (both economics PhDs), the Joint Economic Committee of Congress under its new, conservative chairman, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, economist Alfred Kahn (the President's "inflation fighter"), and others whose ranks swell monthly.

About the statistics there is little doubt: between 1948 and 1965 annual productivity growth in the private nonfarm economy averaged 2.6 percent, while from 1965 to 1973 the rate fell to 2.0. From 1973 to 1978 it dropped further, to 0.8 percent. In manufacturing, annual productivity increases came to 2.2 percent between 1966 and 1977, the lowest rate of improvement for the 12 major capitalist nations (U.S., Canada, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, and the European Common Market members).

Productive efficiency, over the course of American history, has risen and declined in waves, bounced back and then tapered off anew. In other words, long-term "trend" is hard to pin down and depends on the time periods being compared. Since the past decade is not the first time growth of output per worker has sagged below previous levels, why all the fuss now?

First, it is argued (even by some on the left) that the productivity slide has aggravated inflation. This we may quickly dismiss. True, the lower the productivity the higher the costs of production, but industrial labor costs are only one small facet of an unparalleled "peacetime" inflation whose causes are far more complex. Furthermore, every one of those 11 other nations with faster productivity growth than the U.S. since 1966 also experienced worse inflation than the U.S., except West Germany.

Is the concern, rather, that lagging productivity yields a smaller economic "growth dividend" for dealing with social ills like urban decay, disintegrating mass transit, and environmental disruption? This too we may dismiss: some economists and politicians may genuinely worry about the wanton neglect of our (nonmilitary) public sector, but the structure of U.S. capitalism is such that during the '50s and '60s, when productivity increases were hotter than now, there was no notable rise in resources for "solving our social problems."

Instead, the fruits of the record-breaking, 103-month economic expansion of the '60s were captured by the corporate sector and channelled toward an enor-

mous strengthening of the "high mass consumption" system, while Newark, Detroit and Watts burned. It also appears that the great, war-fed boom of the 1960s redistributed wage and salary income from the lower half of the income scale toward upper-income families. At this point we probably should be asking (as Robert S. Lynd might have put it), productivity for what? For whom? And at what cost?

The real worry of our economists and business chiefs is—can you guess?—profits. Between 1966 and 1973, as labor productivity was slowing down, after-tax corporate profits were increasing 10 percent while wage costs per unit of output were climbing 40 percent. Thus, return on stockholders' equity and profit per dollar of sales both sank steadily.

For example, the profit rate on corporate capital fell from an average of 16.3 percent in 1965 to a post-World War II low of 9.1 percent in 1970; and the portion of capital investment outlays financed from internal funds (retained profits and depreciation funds, mostly) plunged from 90 percent in 1965 to 65 percent in 1973.

Profits have recovered "nicely" since the 1974-75 recession, but, as industrial leaders have been clamoring, inflation is eroding "real" profit levels and making it harder for corporations to rely on profits for financing new investment, the costs of which keep escalating along with the prices of everything else.

Here we come to the heart of the story: it is precisely this lag in capital spending, as well as in related "research and development" (R&D), that constitutes the main reasons for the productivity slowdown.

Productivity gains come from several sources, such as better technology, expanding markets and larger volumes of output for individual business firms, and more effective "utilization" of labor, capital, and materials at the plant level. But in practice new capital investment is the means through which these productivity sources are brought into play. Without fresh capital, for instance, most new technologies will remain in blueprint.

Since 1974, the anticipated surge in capital expenditures by business has failed to materialize. Gross business investment, worth \$131 billion in 1974, now stands around \$150 billion per year—an increase hardly sufficient to replace old capital and keep abreast of inflation. R&D, the pathway to new industrial technology, has been cut substantially by giant corporations. In 1978 private industry spent some \$13 billion on R&D, \$2 billion more than in 1971 (an amount more than wiped out by inflation) and in 1977 was employing 23,000 fewer scientists than in 1969.

Business sources and private economists acknowledge the stagnation in capital investment, but they immediately add other reasons for the productivity slump: 1) "Increased negative impact of government regulation"—environmental controls, occupational health and safety standards, consumer product information and re-

call codes, employee pension safeguards, and other government "interference" with absolute freedom of action by business. 2) "Increased impediments to capital and labor mobility"—equal opportunity and affirmative action programs, welfare and public assistance, and federal and state taxes on business profits and gross sales. 3) "Excessive growth of government spending and deficit financing," which allegedly worsens inflation, drives up interest rates, and destabilizes the economy.

In the face of all these ominous signs, *Business Week* stated in October 1977 that "what money is going into the basic industries today tends to be for replacement [of worn-out equipment], pollution control, and adaptation to alternative energy forms; little of it is going to build whole new facilities that would provide additional [production] capacity.... The result, now visible in many industries, is an aging, increasingly inefficient plant."

The problem, then, is that business executives, who shun uncertainty the way they would smallpox, have "naturally" pulled back from long-term investment commitments and instead are placing more emphasis on short-run profitability. Last October *Business Week* predicted (correctly) that "capital spending" would be "going nowhere in 1979": "Because of the many uncertainties, there seems to be a trend developing toward 'quick-o' investments...that promise rapid returns."

Earlier, the *Wall Street Journal*, whose trenchant business reporting contrasts with its reactionary editorial columns as day to night, point to this "stress on fast profits" as "a key deterrent to capital spending" and speculated that a whole generation of corporate officials "may be developing an excessive preoccupation with managing present assets for maximum return and [are] unwilling to take risks needed for growth. The ultimate result could be slower long-term economic growth, capacity shortages and more persistent unemployment."

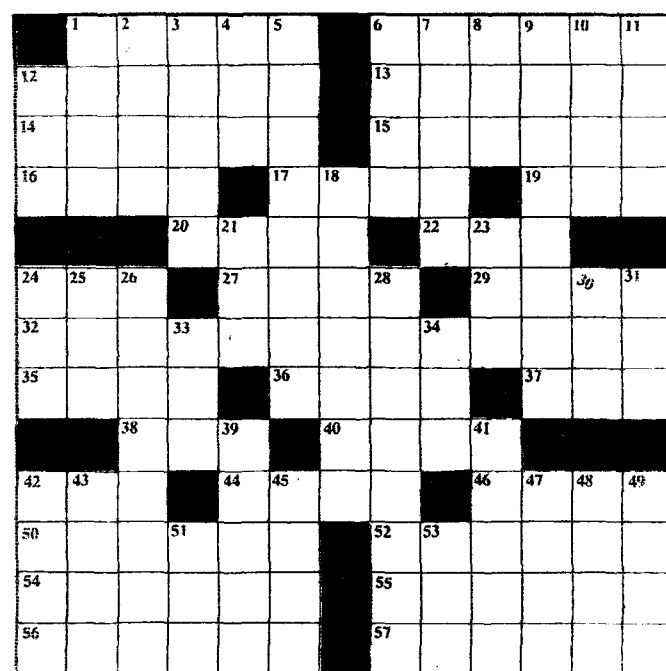
As the business community views it, however, the fault lies with "government" for creating the regulatory and financial "uncertainties" and leaving corporate managers no choice but to go on a capital strike. Unless and until business gets what it seeks, the long-awaited "upturn" in capital investment could remain just that—a mirage.

But relief may be on the way. Administration economists have begun to wage war against the "unnecessarily costly" regulations forced on business by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; price decontrol is being granted to the oil industry and "deregulation" is proposed for others; business in general is being assured that price controls will never be imposed on it.

Furthermore, with time, corporations will find ways to absorb these "unnecessary costs" of pollution, safety, and product regulation and pass them on to the consumer through higher prices. At that point, when these corporations feel certain that they—and only they—have regained adequate control over the organization of the workplace, as well as the productivity-creating process and its income rewards, they may be prepared to step up their capital spending (if sales warrant it, that is).

It is economic blackmail of the most elemental kind. Sooner or later we give them what they want—"policies to promote a higher standard of living," as the New York Stock Exchange study so engagingly calls them—or else we get lagging productivity and fewer jobs (and maybe higher prices to boot). Only a vigorous and growing left demanding a shift from a corporate-dominated economy toward desperately needed public investment can bring this no-win "trade-off" to a long overdue end.

Richard B. Du Boff is professor of economics at Bryn Mawr College, Pa.



Three Mile Island

By Jay Shepherd

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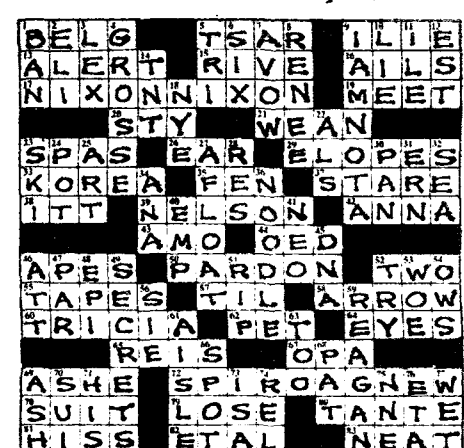
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Solution to last week's puzzle:



PERSPECTIVES FOR A NEW AMERICA

A workable socialism, Part II: Overcoming left romanticism

By Leland Stauber

REGARDING THE PROPOSAL FOR A RECONSTRUCTION OF socialist thinking I have advanced (text in *Journal of Comparative Economics*, September 1977; summary in *ITT*, May 3, 10, 17, 1978), I would like, in the spirit of constructive debate, to respond to certain critics on the left. [The General Issue of "the Market." Yale political science professor Charles E. Lindblom points out (*ITT*, July 5, 1978) that in many important areas the market alone does not provide socially adequate decisions. I fully agree. I take for granted all the types of governmental intervention Lindblom cites as illustrations. Lindblom's language here conveys an impression I am advocating laissez-faire market socialism, but this impression is an utter misunderstanding of what I am talking about.

This impression is evident in the comments by John H. Brown (*ITT*, May 31, 1978), who catalogues evils of laissez-faire and also complains of "the absence of any discussion of the role of unions"—the latter because Brown, a graduate student in economics, did not read the text of the proposal.

At work here is a tendency simply to react emotionally against the word "Market"—the very tendency I have previously discussed.

I have said (*ITT*, May 3, 1978), "There

are major needs for social and economic planning, on a selective and pragmatic basis." What I reject is "sweeping" and "indiscriminate" displacement of the economic discipline of a competitive market. The issue is not how "true socialism" is defined in traditional scriptures but what makes practical sense. I suggest, perhaps contrary to John Hardesty (*ITT*, Aug. 9, 1978) and the Red Cent Collective (*ITT*, May 2), that Marx raised the issues but did not provide workable answers.

The Problem of Plant Closures. We need a middle course between laissez-faire, which loads social costs onto workers and communities, and tendencies toward subsidies to palpably uneconomic enterprises. The set of measures needed in the

U.S., including legislation imposing social costs directly on the companies involved, are those set forth by Don Stillman of the UAW (*Working Papers for a New Society*, July-Aug., 1978).

All these measures are entirely compatible with the type of social ownership I propose for corporate business generally.

The Issue of Employee Power in Management. John H. Brown argues that my proposal "totally ignores" the problems of alienation and provides "no mechanism" for meaningful inputs by workers. This is untrue. The proposal (*ITT*, May 3; text of the proposal, p. 239) allows for partial employee representation in management and an employee veto power over decisions affecting safety—things that go far beyond the status quo in the U.S.

What the proposal rejects (*ITT*, May 3 and 17) is "full" or "unqualified" workers' self-management as a general policy for large firms. The available evidence casts doubt on the belief that the latter orientation can avoid significant damage to legitimate interests of consumers and the general public. Those who think it can need to produce the evidence. If it cannot, commitment to it is not sound in principle and will predictably endanger the political position of any democratic socialist movement that seriously aims at becoming a governing majority rather than a permanent minority.

The Meidner Plan. The Meidner plan for a gradual transfer of new equity capital to a series of collectively owned investment funds, under discussion in Sweden, has, in my view, several fundamental defects:

- It further concentrates the holding of stock voting rights, in this case within the trade unions, instead of diffusing it.

- This, in turn, can produce tendencies toward further cartelization, rather than preserving or extending a reliable basis for competition among firms.

- Collectively owned security holdings would not be managed through buying and selling but held in a fixed fashion. This fails to duplicate the flexibility of private capital markets in steering capital towards the most profitable firms.

- One aim of the Meidner plan is to influence the national pattern of investment through such control of stock voting rights by trade unions. This function, which is important, belongs, I suggest, in government, which is accountable to the people as a whole.

Ownership is transferred to part of society, even if a large part, and not society

as a whole; a consideration of equity here is left out.

For these reasons the Meidner plan, while attractive to many trade unionists, is, in my view, not an economically sound approach and, as the discussion in Sweden has already shown, is politically vulnerable. In the U.S., what would happen to a proposal to concentrate ownership of big business in the AFL-CIO?

The approach I propose, which uses collectively-owned investment funds but in a thoroughly market-disciplined and vastly more pluralistic and decentralized framework, avoids all of these defects. It provides a solid political foundation against conservative counter-attack.

The Question of Transition. The Meidner approach has been attractive partly because it offers a plan of transition by drawing a distinction between existing private ownership, which it leaves intact, and new equity capital. The same distinction could be used as one of several elements in a transitional strategy for the system of local investment funds I propose.

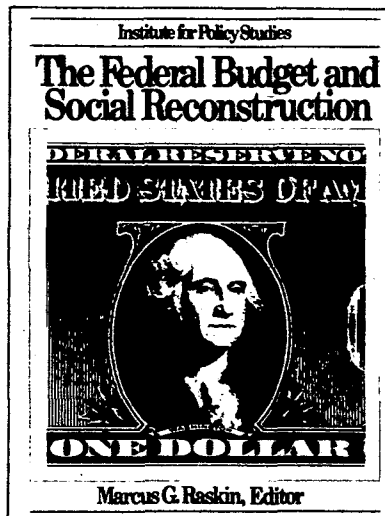
Thus federal corporate and personal income tax revenues could be allocated to local funds, induced into being by an incentive approach, and these funds, with the federal underwriting of high-risk investments I propose, could supply new equity capital to corporations, large and small, low-risk and high-risk. Belief that the rich are necessary for "saving" and "risk-taking" could thereby be further undermined by demonstration.

This could prepare the way for ultimate socialization of individually held corporate securities, with compensation in government bonds, and gradual expropriation of large family wealth through wealth taxes that would reabsorb the compensation bonds.

In the meantime, agitation for this transformation could direct the "Proposition 13" syndrome, in the manner detailed in the text of the proposal, against the rich. It provides a solid political foundation for a socialist political offensive.

The Components of "Power." The capitalist form of ownership for big business in the U.S., despite all the power-supporting it, contains, even in American culture, a latent and vast political vulnerability. The power of the left to lay hold of that vulnerability depends on its capacity to rethink aspects of its own traditions that, I suggest, have comprised its own political vulnerabilities and decisively handicap such a larger democratization of American society. ■

If you think the rich get richer and the poor get poorer—you're right.



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Germany

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pushing the Germans close to "Rapallo."

Wehner's role in this whole question has been sometimes dismissed on account of his age and his left-wing politics. But it is important to note that SDP president Willy Brandt and his deputy Bahr have supported Wehner's efforts.

There is other evidence that Bonn is deeply interested in a Soviet rapprochement. Soviet emissaries in Bonn apparently told German officials that since the U.S. and Japan are turning China into a world power, they want to know what the Germans think can be done to further German reunification. The Germans did not turn their backs to the Russians.

Chancellor Schmidt's recent praise of Russia's "responsible" behavior during the China-Vietnam war can not have discouraged the Russians in any way. Furthermore, Schmidt's record of difficulties with the Carter administration over such issues as economic policy, human rights and the neutron bomb, along with his need to seek left-wing support in coming elections, may well predispose him to consider greater West German independence in negotiations with the USSR.

There are obstacles that may prevent the German left's project for a united socialist Germany from getting off the ground. The Soviet Union, for example, may be too unsure of its position in Eastern Europe to "let go" of East Germany. But it is possible to envisage a "minimum" settlement, which the U.S. government would nevertheless find threatening.

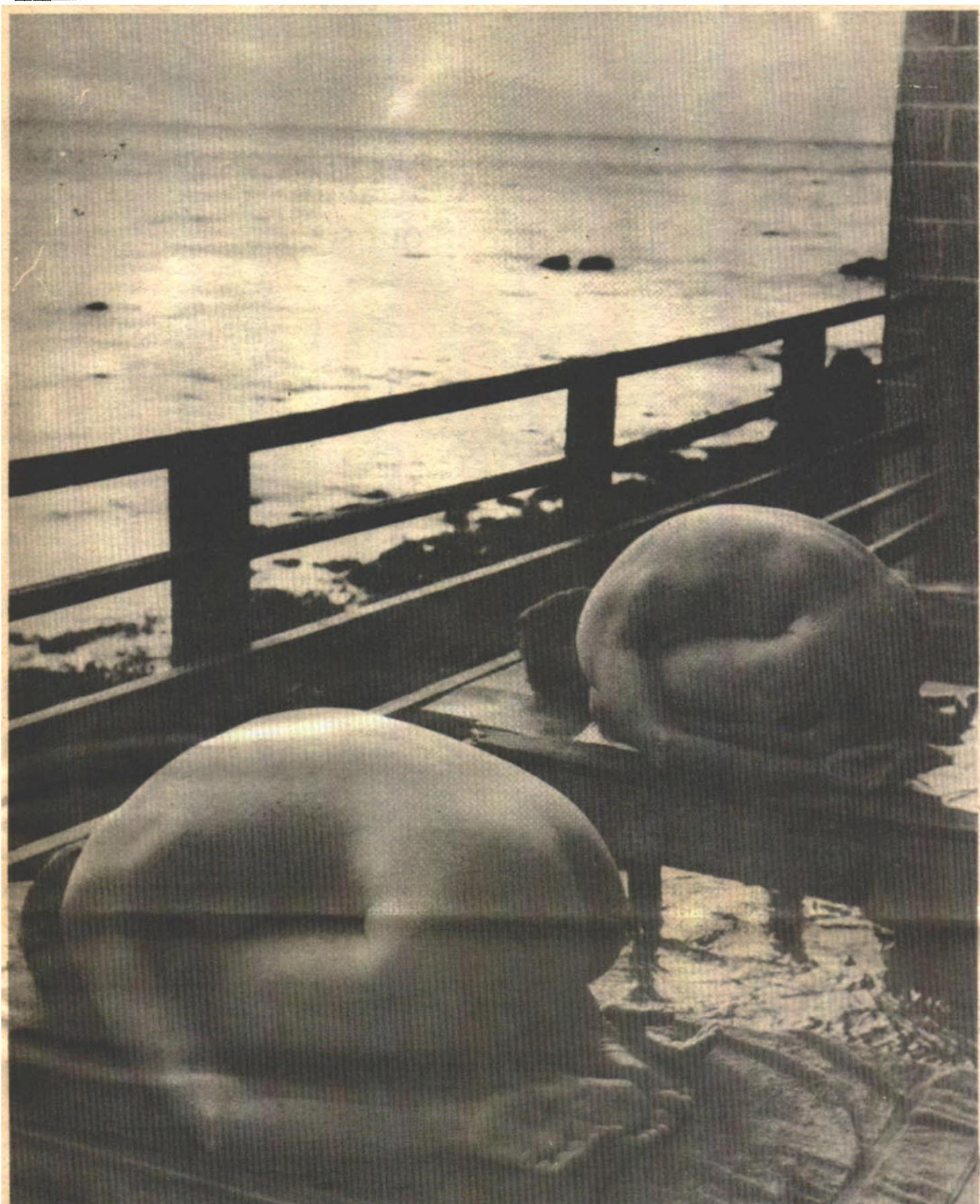
The Soviet Union may promise Bonn a "special relationship" involving closer

economic ties to East Germany, greater access by Germany industry to Eastern markets, natural gas and oil. In return the Germans could promise to be less cooperative within NATO in Europe and in anti-Soviet activities in Africa and Asia. In the context of continued global business stagnation, the SDP might find such an agreement very tempting.

Such a settlement would have serious implications for Western Europe and the U.S. The considerable weight that Germany already has in the European economy may induce an Eastern orientation for the rest of European capitalism. Greater dependence on Eastern markets could lead European governments to take a neutral diplomatic stance.

The degree of their relations with the socialist bloc would determine the extent to which Western Europeans would have to increase public control over trade and investment in order to facilitate business with the state monopolies of the East. This in turn would give the European left much more room in which to maneuver.

The emergence of a European East-West economic bloc would invite a hostile reaction from the U.S. government. The whole thrust of U.S. economic diplomacy and military policy during the 20th century has been to prevent such a system. American policy-makers and sophisticated businessmen have tended during this century to see Europe as a lynch-pin for the success of capitalism as a global system. They have argued that a U.S. economically isolated from Europe would have to begin "regimenting" its own industrial system to attain economic balance and political stability. But they have never publicly answered the question: who would do the regimenting and who would be regimented? ■



NARCISSISM

The latest fashion in social disease

By John Judis

THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL recent attempts to explain—rather than simply to indulge—Americans' current obsession with sex, therapy, mid-life crises, security, dependence, death, old age, sado-masochism, high fashion, and superstars.

In the mid-'70s, journalist Tom Wolfe published several analyses of what he called the "Me Decade." (They were collected in *Mavericks, Madmen, Chatter & Vines*.) In "The Me Decade and the Third Great Awakening," Wolfe described a decade given over to "remaking, remodeling, elevating, and polishing one's very self, and observing, studying, and doting on it. (Me!)"

Wolfe saw the Me Decade as the result of a 30-year economic boom that had allowed the middle classes to enjoy the same "delicious look toward" that had formerly been reserved for the leisure classes.

Wolfe sees the Me Decade as part of

a "happiness explosion." In "An Intelligent Coed's Guide to America," he mocks the left-wing intellectuals who criss-cross the country out of Chicago's O'Hare Airport to deliver visions of doom (the "Grim Slide") in campus lecture halls. "The Jocks & Buds & Freaks of the heartland have their all-knowing savants of O'Hare who keep warning them that this is 'the worst of all possible worlds,' and they know it must be true—and yet life keeps getting easier, sunnier, happier...Frisbee!"

Wolfe's descriptions of a '70s est session is vintage new journalism, but his analysis reflects the problem he purports to analyze.

If counter-evidence to the "happiness explosion" were needed, it could be found in best-selling novels like Joseph Heller's *Something Happened* or Cyra McFadden's *The Serial*, which show that underneath the "I'm O.K.—You're O.K." surface of everyday life, beneath the strained sociability, cultivated hedonism and heroic avoidance of rage, a desperate and ultimately futile search for personal fulfillment is going on.

Christopher Lasch is the prototype of Wolfe's "savant of O'Hare." A historian at Rochester University and a frequent contributor to the *New York Review of Books*, Lasch turned in the early '70s to studying how American capitalism had shaped and changed the American family and character.

His findings, presented in *Haven in a Heartless World* (1977) and now in *The Culture of Narcissism* (Norton, 1978), are anything but cheery. In their total denunciation of current Americana, they recall Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*.

Drawing on recent psychoanalytical theory and a Marxist analysis of American capitalism, Lasch sees in Americans' preoccupation with their selves the symptoms of a society-wide narcissistic personality disorder. These symptoms, as drawn from clinical analyses, include "dependence on the vicarious warmth of others combined with a fear of independence," "a sense of inner emptiness, boundless repressed rage, and unsatisfied oral cravings," an "intense fear of old age

and death, fascination with celebrity, and deteriorating relations between men and women."

Narcissism everywhere.

Psychologists have often noted that mental illness has changed since Freud's day. There are fewer cases of hysteria, fewer phobias and obsessions, and more of what are called "character disorders." These may include phobias or obsessions, but they center on what psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut terms the "psyche's inability to regulate self-esteem."

While psychologists agree on the prevalence of character disorders, they do not agree on the analysis of them. Lasch constructs his own theory from the work of Kohut (*The Analysis of Self*), Otto Kernberg (*Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism*), Melanie Klein and other psychoanalysts. According to Lasch, the central feature of character disorders is "secondary" or "pathological" narcissism.

Primary narcissism is a normal feature of infant development, which occurs when the infant does not see its mother as a separate being, but as continuous with itself and its own wishes. The infant "mistakes dependence on the mother, who satisfies his own needs as soon as they arise, with his own omnipotence."

Secondary narcissism takes place during weaning. It develops in reaction to the child's anger toward its mother, its guilt for its anger, and its anxiety about losing its mother. According to Lasch, who draws here largely on Klein, the child forms opposing images of a "good" and a "bad" mother—an all-powerful, benevolent being and an evil destructive being, the objects of his love and hatred, respectively. The child *internalizes* these images, makes them part of its self-image, alongside the image of its own omnipotence. Internalization is a way of turning one's anger back upon oneself, to avoid the loss that might result from its outward expression.

In "normal" or "ideal" cases of child development, these images of self-omnipotence, and the good and evil "other" become tempered by more realistic self-images. The image of the bad and good mother fuse in a conscience (or super-ego) informed by prevailing social values and authority figures. The image of personal omnipotence gives way to realistic self-confidence.

But if the ideal course of development does not occur, the adult retains in his or her unconscious these early childhood images, as well as the overpowering rage and need for love that occasioned them.

In narcissistic neuroses, persons feel themselves without a current sense of self. They desperately seek the "all-powerful other" at the same time as they seek to affirm their own independence. Unable to identify with other beings as fully separate selves, they see the world solipsistically. Their fear of death and old age is intense.

They are consumed with an unexplainable rage, which distorts their sexual needs and colors their relations with the opposite sex. They seek to erect barriers against strong emotion.

This is Lasch's portrait of the narcissistic neurosis, as well as the character disorders that many of the mentally ill now suffer from. It is also his portrait of the American character as shaped by the development of corporate capitalism.

American capitalism.

Prior to the Civil War, most Americans were farmers, and most of them, especially in the North, worked on their own farms. Production was organized within the farm family. There was no division between the "private" world of the family and the "public" world of work. Families produced and prepared their own food, made their own clothes and educated and cared for themselves and their children.

Beginning after the Civil War, large-scale industry displaced small craftsmen and manufactories where workers owned their tools. As agriculture was mechanized and the farm population driven to the cities to work in factories, workers lost their tools and farmers their land. In the interests of efficiency and social control, work became increasingly tedious.

The family was also progressively

Continued on page 20.

The counter-culture, with its stress on "self-awareness," non-competitiveness, open marriage and open classrooms, has merely reinforced the narcissistic trends in our society.

stripped of its functions. Education, child care, health care, and care for the aged were progressively removed from the family (or neighborhood) and placed under the control of experts certified by the state. Lasch calls this the "new paternalism."

Corporations took over the production of food and clothing and household objects. The family became a unit of consumption, not production, to be exploited by business enterprise. As the father (and/or mother) went outside to work, the family lost its connection with the world of work.

Lasch argues that this modern family encourages the development of narcissistic personalities. "The atrophy of older traditions of self-help has eroded everyday competence in one area after another and has made the individual dependent on the state, the corporation and other bureaucracies. Narcissism represents the psychological dimension of this dependence."

With the mother no longer confident of her ability to raise children and with an "absent" father whose work no longer provides an example to follow, children lack the "credible authority figures" necessary to make the transition from secondary narcissism to realistic ideals and expectations. "As authority figures in society lose their credibility, the super-ego in individuals increasingly derives from the child's primitive fantasies about his parents—fantasies charged with sadistic rage—rather than from internalized ego ideals formed by later experience with love and respected models of conduct."

The larger culture plays on the narcissist's primitive fantasies. It encourages dreams of "total gratification" that feed the narcissist's fantasies of infantile omnipotence. It surrounds persons with a world of "beautiful people" who "live out the fantasy of narcissistic success." It affirms their feelings of dependence by denying them competence as parents and workers. And it erects barriers against the expression of strong emotion. "Outwardly bland, submissive and sociable, they seethe with an inner anger for which a dense overpopulated bureaucratic society can devise few legitimate outlets."

Fake radicalism.

Lasch contrasts his own view with that associated with the new left and the counter-culture. In taking aim at authoritarianism and upholding open-marriage, open-classrooms, permissive child-rearing, sexual liberation and non-competitiveness, the "liberationist critique" has reinforced narcissistic trends.

In education, the "liberationist critique" affirms the tendency of modern schools to create personalities rather than individuals with skills and intelligence. It encourages students to learn from their environment rather than from books at a time when the environment only mirrors society's inner decline.

In sports, the liberationists attack what is most positive—their function as an escape from everyday life—by insisting that sports be morally uplifting. They attempt to eliminate the conventions of sports, which center on their "gratuitous difficulty." "In glorifying amateurism, equating spectatorship with passivity, and deploring competition, recent criticism of sports relies on the fake radicalism of the counter-culture from which so much of it derives."

But Lasch reserves his lowest marks for the "awareness movement." Lasch's view

is that, as adults have been stripped of their functions as workers and parents, they have been forced to seek refuge in personal fulfillment. "When personal relations are conducted with no other object than psychic survival, 'privatism' no longer provides a haven from a heartless world. On the contrary, private life takes on the very qualities of the anarchic social order from which it is supposed to provide a refuge."

Personal life becomes ruled by primitive rage and the narcissistic dialect of dependence and independence. Lasch draws here upon Herbert Hendin's *Age of Sensation*. Hendin, a psychoanalyst, analysed his findings from interviews he conducted with 300 college students. He finds in both men and women an anger that can find no expression and a search for emotional independence and approval. In defense against their feelings, students seek emotional detachment and disengagement.

Lasch thinks that the "awareness movement" simply reinforces this option. "Arising out of a pervasive dissatisfaction with the quality of personal relations, it advises people not to make too large an investment in love and friendship, to avoid excessive dependence on others, and to live for the moment—the very conditions that created the crisis of personal relations in the first place."

Without attacking the goals of the feminist movement, Lasch thinks that feminism has heightened the battle of the sexes. "Democracy and feminism have now stripped the veil of courtly conventions from the subordination of women, revealing the sexual antagonisms formerly concealed by the 'feminine mystique.'"

American anarchism.

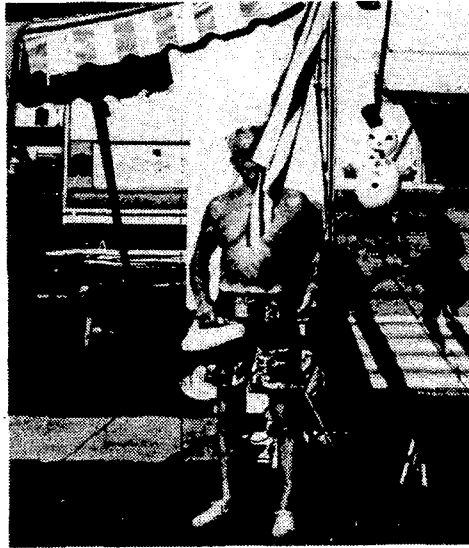
The Culture of Narcissism resembles another book of the early '60s, Paul Goodman's *Growing Up Absurd*. Like Goodman, Lasch harks back to the petit-bourgeois capitalist past for his critique of the present. And like Goodman, Lasch is as much a left-wing anarchist as a socialist, insofar as socialism is seen as an extension of welfare-state capitalism.

Lasch thinks that most of the innovations of the welfare state have "done more harm than good." He agrees with Milton Friedman that a guaranteed annual income or negative income tax would be preferable to the welfare system. He rejects the claims of the juvenile home, mental hospital, and the old-age home that they provide relief for their charges. While he does not reject expertise, he thinks it must be controlled directly by families, not provided to families by the state.

But Lasch also distinguishes his viewpoint from the right wing. Disagreeing with Ludwig von Mises, Lasch argues that government did not create bureaucracy and the "new paternalism" against the wishes of business, but in accord with its wishes "the struggle against bureaucracy requires a struggle against capitalism itself," Lasch says. "Ordinary citizens cannot resist professional dominance without also asserting control over production and over the technical knowledge on which modern production rests."

Loose ends.

Lasch's book puts Tom Wolfe to shame. It also should give second thought to the army of therapists and other personal relations vultures who have descended on our unhappy selves. But *The Culture of Narcissism* is also replete with loose ends and untended hypotheses.



Lasch sees American character shaped by developing corporate capitalism. In the 20th century, Americans increasingly left the working intimacy of the family farm for industrial work in the cities. For succeeding generations, public institutions like schools took over responsibilities once assumed by families. Consumerism only reinforces resulting character weaknesses.

The relationship between narcissism and corporate capitalism remains undefined. Corporate capitalism developed roughly over the last 100 years. At times, Lasch attributes narcissistic character traits to 20th century Americans (e.g., "the 'psychological man' of the 20th century seeks..."). But at other times, he describes character traits that seem peculiar to the post-World War II period or even to the last 15 years (e.g., "getting in touch with feelings," "learning how to relate").

For instance, according to cultural historians Warren Sussman and Richard H. Pells, Americans during the '30s sought the seemingly unnarcissistic ends of community and commitment. Does this mean that the narcissistic character slowly blossomed during the 20th century, or has Lasch simply projected a critique of the Me Decade back upon the whole century?

Lasch's view of the narcissistic personality remains more convincing on the level of ordinary usage than on the level of psychoanalytical theory.

It is easier to see how corporate capitalism encourages self-indulgence and self-doubt than it is to understand the connection between a complex of narcissistic character traits and infantile experiences. The psychoanalysts themselves are not agreed on what traits should be assigned to narcissistic disorders. Kernberg stresses the fear of death; Kohut does not.

Certain traits like a fascination with celebrity seem to fit the narcissistic model; others, like sexual promiscuity and anger, can be explained in other ways. And the link between corporate capitalism and narcissism rests on the supposition that certain authority figures are not "credible," which may be Lasch's opinion but not a child's.

This does not add up to a reason to dismiss Lasch's use of the psychoanalytical theory of narcissism. But there is also no reason to accept it fully at this point.

Finally, *The Culture of Narcissism* has the same weakness as Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*. Both books were written when the forces of change seemed relatively muted, and both propound a theory of American character and society that leaves no room for the conflict necessary for change. On the basis of his theory, Lasch would be hard put to explain his own insights; he must take a cynical view of the book's current popularity.

Lasch does acknowledge that the New Left—in spite of its fascination with celebrity, self-dramatization, and flight from feeling—did develop a critique of welfare liberalism, from which he has drawn some of his own ideas. Lasch also draws upon the feminist understanding of family and society. And he sees in Americans' current cynicism about politics and distrust of public officials a "healthy skepticism" that might eventuate in revolution itself.

Where did these positive currents come from? Did they come from the remains of self-reliant individualism buried within our narcissistic psyches, or from within narcissism itself—from its "exaggerated" concern with the interpersonal and with self-knowledge?

As an organized left again takes shape at the Me Decade's conclusion, these become more than merely academic or historical questions.

Unable to answer them, Lasch's book remains more sermon than science. An eloquent, provocative and suggestive sermon, but a sermon no less.

TELEVISION

The city outside history

By Richard Hatch

On May 22, PBS offered a special program about American urban life and culture. For 90 minutes, architects, architectural critics, urban planners, HUD officials, preservationists and psychologists raise their voices in a choral jeremiad over shots of congestion, squalor, alienation and suburban anonymity. Homeless families abound. Urban problems are the result of "irrational love of technology," "human folly," and architects' over concern with "abstract form."

The show's press release says, "Architecture can never be divorced from the social texture in which it exists." Yet throughout the long hour and a half there is no mention of social class, of racism, of urban space as a commodity. Serious planning alternatives are not explored, the possibility of decentralization is not mentioned, the benefits of public participation and control are not addressed.

This is particularly curious in a program entitled *Lewis Mumford: Toward Human Architecture*, since Mumford has been expounding these unorthodox ideas since the publication of his first book, *The Story of Utopias*, in 1922. Now 83 and the dean of American architectural critics, Mum-

ford continues to develop a deep and reasoned critique of our urban practice (his 30th book appeared this month).

But his accurate and ferocious criticism is not here. In fact, he is rarely on screen. Mumford has allowed producers Ray Hubbard, Mark Olshaker and Larry Klein to use his name, but draw his teeth. This is a shame, because he knows so much we need to hear.

Early in his career, Lewis Mumford discovered the nexus between urban life and form and the exigencies of capitalism. Already in the 13th century, he pointed out, Chaucer was writing nostalgically about "The Former Age" when "ther lay no profit, ther was no riches," and Protestant reformers like Peter Waldo were fulminating against new economic practices.

"The economic history of the medieval town," Mumford wrote in his magisterial *The City in History*, "is largely a story of the transfer of power from a group of protected producers, earning a modest living, achieving a state of relative equality, to a small group of privileged wholesale merchants, engaged in large scale transactions...for the sake of immense gains. With this transfer went the elevation of a new hierarchy, with rank and station based mainly on money, and the

PBS invoked Lewis Mumford's name, but not his ideas.

power money can command."

By the 17th century, the enclosure of common agricultural lands and the systematic stripping from the artisan family of its independent means of production had already produced the spatial segregation of social classes and the spreading ring of slums around a glittering city core in which alone were found culture, wealth and political power—a pattern we still recognize today. Mumford describes the reasons: "Misery at the bottom was the foundation of luxury at the top. As much as a quarter of the urban population in the bigger cities...consisted of casuals and beggars: it was this surplus that made for what was considered, by classic capitalism, to be a healthy labor market."

Like its citizens, the space of the city also becomes merely a source of profit. The result is centralization of power, hierarchical domination, and silent suburban conformity—"an end to effective criticism and democratic control."

The answer, according to Mumford: "Before modern man can gain control over the forces that

thing else he wanted.

However, as soon as Williams had his say, the show switched abruptly to an analysis of the expansion of women's sports, centered around the personality of Nancy Lieberman, a New York City-bred star who may be the best player in women's college basketball. Women's basketball, the show pointed out, is becoming more and more like men's—winning and making money for the school have become the major objectives.

After ten minutes of this, the show suddenly shifted to an examination of how the NCAA ferrets out and punishes recruiting violations. For the next half hour, detailed and insipid exploration followed of whether the NCAA unfairly "picked on" a high school athlete who bought a suit with a loan extended by a college recruiter, or whether it harassed a college coach named Jerry Tarkanian, who built nationally competitive basketball teams by stretching NCAA rules and scandalized his coaching colleagues by chewing a towel during ball games.

By presenting Tarkanian as a tragic hero, the show conveniently lost sight of the fact that athletes, not coaches, are the victims of the college sports industry, and the denial of education to



Lewis Mumford hardly appears in a documentary bearing his name.

now threaten his very existence, he must resume possession of himself. This sets the chief mission for the city of the future: that of creating a visible regional and civic structure, designed to make man at home with his deeper self and his larger world, attached to images of human nurture and love."

Mumford is, in his phrase, an "essentially literary" person and lives removed from daily realities of urban conflict; his prescrip-

tions lack force and detail. He imagines the world transformed, but not the mechanism of its transformation. But his criticism surely deserves public attention. PBS has invoked his name but not his ideas, presenting a picture of the city more comfortable for establishment eyes. Lewis Mumford should demand equal time.

Richard Hatch is an associate professor of architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology.

Big money on and off campus

NBC's "expose" on college sports stopped conveniently short of endangering its own contracts with college basketball.

By Mark Naison

When NBC TV News decided to produce a documentary on the underside of college sports, it posed a problem. One of NBC's most lucrative sports contracts is college basketball, and no single sport more dramatically displays recruiting violations and the educational neglect of athletes. Would NBC News produce a story that compromised NBC Sports?

The answer is no. The show's originator, Jeff Walsh, contacted many critics of college sports, including me, and gave a few of them airtime, but the show, *College Sports and the Big Money on Campus*, buried its critical commentary in a sea of trivia.

It began beautifully. After doc-

umenting how college sports had grown into a multimillion dollar industry, it offered a telling vignette on the problems of black athletes, set in a schoolyard in Brooklyn. There, against a background of young men playing "three on three," sociologist Harry Edwards pointed out that only 900 blacks in the entire country made a living as professional athletes, and that between 70 and 80 percent of blacks who received athletic scholarships never got degrees. The narrator, Edwin Newman, then interviewed "Fly" Williams, a Brooklyn schoolyard great who had a brief career in the pros. Williams told him that the college he had entered had given him a house, a car, and any-

athletes is a major crime.

The conclusion of the show was equally dissatisfying. In the three minutes given to recommendations, NBC offered a short interview with Sen. Bill Bradley (taped on the run outside the Capitol) who said that college athletes in big-time programs should be given a choice of whether they wanted salaries for their services. Edwin Newman then concluded the show by saying that athletes were indeed exploited and suggested that universities that wished to escape the

hypocrisy of the current system should either openly professionalize their operations or de-emphasize intercollegiate sports.

Since neither of these two suggestions is likely to be implemented in the near future, the show left its audience without a single practical suggestion of how to insure that athletes trapped in the college sports machine are given an education. But then again, it is slam dunks and jump shots, not term papers and degrees, that gives NBC the ratings it needs to hold onto its advertisers.

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Barry Commoner
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HISTORICAL NOVELS

A Wobbly romance

BISBEE '17
By Robert Houston
Pantheon, \$10

By Len De Caux

"It all seemed so simple then," the old Wobbly, a survivor of the 1916 Everett Massacre, said to me.

Just two sides—the working class and the employing class. Lawrence, Paterson, Mesabi Range, Everett, Bisbee, Butte, Centralia, all saw the two sides clash directly, obviously, often violently. You were on one side or the other. There was little middle ground.

On one side, ruthlessly exploited workers organizing and striking for a better deal. On the other, profit-glutted bosses with their hysteria-mongering liars, their spy-provocateurs, their bribed authorities and armed forces of every kind.

Bisbee, Ariz., in 1917 was a glaring example. In the Southwest, as also in Montana, copper miners saw their chance—in soaring war profits and rising demand for labor—to strike against low wages and miserable, murderous conditions. They walked out on their own, or led by AFL, independent, or IWW unions. In Bisbee, the IWW had taken over the AFL union and had a solid strike.

The copper bosses were led by Walter Douglas, head of Phelps Dodge in Arizona and a power in Washington. They carefully plotted, paid for, armed and carried through a sweeping, brutal class-war coup. Their gunmen broke into homes before daybreak to kidnap and deport far into the desert some 1,300 Bisbee miners—all the strikers, that is, except those they could force to scab or defect to the bosses' vigilantes.

Bisbee '17 is a novel that recounts, dramatizes and personalizes this struggle. Robert Houston brings out its essential character with reasonable accuracy and honest intent. He tells a gripping, suspenseful tale, rich in Western atmosphere and human interest.

The fictional treatment of our labor and radical heritage—relatively rare as yet—has its problems and pitfalls, however. Many of us owe our impressions of past events more to historical novels than to factual history books. That was the case with myself—when young and the French Revolution. The historical novelist owes it to posterity—and him/herself—not to falsify the essence of events.

Bisbee '17 does not, I think. Houston notes—possibly with understatement—that "a number of details have been altered" in major events that actually hap-

pened. That doesn't worry me; I wasn't there. His version seems to confirm general impressions gleaned from factual accounts.

But it gives more pause when the author, by his own admission, takes "great liberties that may upset scrupulous biographers" with characters "based on real people (none now living)."

For instance, he injects by name Big Bill Haywood, Mother Jones, Carlo Tresca, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—none of whom were there then, so far as I know. Big Bill comes off okay, treated with respect for his leadership and warm humanity. Mother Jones and Tresca appear but briefly and incidentally. But Flynn!

Many still living were close to this magnetic woman; or else, like myself, formed strong impressions of her personality from all they knew and heard and read, including her own autobiography. They must wince, as I did, at many imaginings about her private feelings and love life.

Not that the book is out to "do a job" on Flynn. She is treated sympathetically, if fictionally. But perhaps publishers demand that a novel must have some overriding love theme, and in this case Flynn is it; along with an even more fictional portrayal (under another name) of her ex-husband



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn serves here as the novel's love interest, although she wasn't even at the 1917 copper mine strike in Bisbee, Ariz.

and father of her son.

Historical novels can be a dandy deal to stir the emotions; and IWW struggles are a fine source of plots. Honestly handled, they must bring out the facts and feel of the class struggle—a continuing conflict that's

still fairly simple, if one can cut through the cackle.

Len De Caux, a one-time Wobbly and later CIO editor in the '30s and '40s, is author of *The Living Spirit of the Wobblies*, as well as *Labor Radical*.

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By Beth Bogart

The separation of art and politics is as sacrosanct in liberal democratic theory as that between church and state—and as much of a myth, as the recent congressional hearings on the National Endowment for the Arts appropriations highlighted.

A House Appropriations Committee report unveiled during the hearings blasted the Endowment for relying largely on a "closed circle" of advisors in making its grants and in forming its policies, scored the agency for operating with "poor management procedures" and accused the Endowment of having "abrogated" its leadership role in setting a "national arts policy."

The Endowment was ready for the 75-page committee report with a 90-page rebuttal, which called the investigation "so flawed both conceptually and technically as to be almost without merit." The Appropriations report "misinterprets our legislative mandate; draws sweeping conclusions based on supposed facts that are breathtakingly inaccurate; ...and is haphazard, unprofessional and often reliant on gossip and hearsay in its methods and reporting."

This was one of the first times the Endowment has run into hardball politics on Capitol Hill since it opened shop in 1965 with \$2.5 million to spend. Thanks largely to the Endowment staff's political savvy, the agency's budget had swelled to almost \$150 million last year—approximately a sixtyfold increase.

The Endowment has doled out almost \$600 million during its 13 years, to individual artists, state and regional arts agencies and non-profit arts organizations such as theaters, dance groups, orchestras and musicians.

The federal arts agency is asking Congress for \$154 million in 1980—an increase, but the smallest budget hike the agency has ever endured. Endowment staff see this slowdown in the agency's growth as temporary, despite the scathing report from the House Appropriations Committee. In fact, the agency's "five-year plan"—revealed recently—predicts the federal arts budget will skyrocket to \$300 million by 1984.

Politicking for art.

Why this optimism? The answer, although most Endowment staff deny it, is politicking.

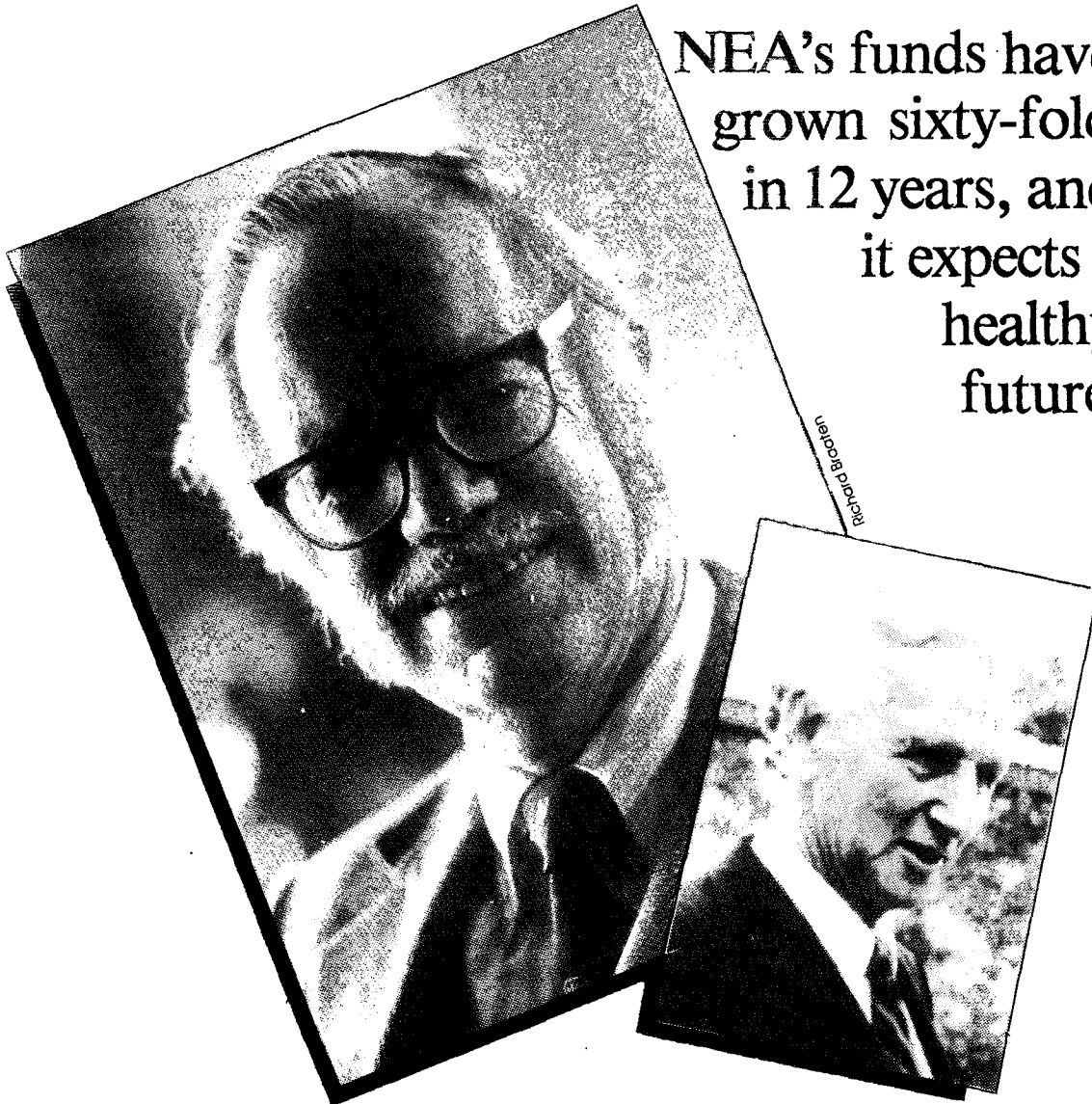
The agency takes great pains to distribute its grants widely—a practice some say is old-fashioned pork-barrel politics. And the Endowment makes sure the members of Congress understand how their constituents are benefitting from the grants.

For example, at a recent Senate hearing, Endowment chairman Livingston Biddle reminded Sen. Ted Stevens (R-AK), who had been asking some critical questions, that the Alaska Repertory Theater received a grant from the arts agency. Stevens quickly replied that he planned to support the Endowment's budget, but only wanted to get good arguments to defend it on the Senate floor.

The Endowment last year gave three grants to the district of a rural Pennsylvania representative on the House Interior Appropriations subcommittee, who had complained at a 1978 hearing that NEA skimmed on his area. Rep. John Murtha's (D-PA) district then received a total of \$12,800 for the Johnstown Municipal Symphony Orchestra, the Pennsylvanian Players (a theater group) and Southern Allegheny Community Television (a public television outlet).

ART AND POLITICS

Taxpayers meet artists



NEA's funds have grown sixty-fold in 12 years, and it expects a healthy future.

NEA chair Livingston Biddle (left); Congressman Sidney Yates (right).

Endowment staffers deny that funds were meant to placate Murtha. The grants—like all Endowment awards—were approved by the agency's independent panels, created and recently "reformed" to keep politics out of the arts-judgment process, they insist.

A key ingredient in successful politicking for money from Congress is connections. The Endowment has plenty of those. The agency chairman Biddle worked for Sen. Claiborne Pell (R-RI) in the 1960s and drafted the legislation setting up the National Council for the Arts, which established the act creating the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. In 1976, Biddle served as staff director for the Senate subcommittee overseeing the arts endowment and worked with Pell on the agency's reauthorization bill, which also expanded federal support for the arts.

Besides Pell, who chairs the Senate Rules Committee, other influential Endowment supporters include Joan Mondale; House Majority Whip John Brademas (D-IN); House Administration

Committee chairman Frank Brademas (D-NJ); Sen. Jacob Javits (R-NY); and House Interior Appropriations subcommittee chairman Sidney Yates (D-IL).

Yates, for example, downplayed his Appropriation Committee's critical investigation of the Endowment. "I don't think the report has really achieved the purposes I hoped for," he said. Yates added that he had not expected the report's "total lack of commendation of any part of the Endowment's operation."

Other Appropriations subcommittee staffers said they were satisfied with most of the rebuttals the Endowment made. "The investigation is an example of the pot calling the kettle black," one staff member said. "Imagine a congressional committee accusing anyone of operating a 'closed circle,'" he said.

"The message underlying most of the investigatory report is that the Endowment is an 'elitist' organization, run by friends and associates interested in preserving the interests of large institutional art to the exclusion of everyone else," one agency staffer said,

"And at the same time, we're getting flack from New York artists that we're sacrificing quality to be 'populists,'" she said.

Big Apple, Dry Gulch.

The Endowment's allocation of funds across the country may buy it political support on Capitol Hill and popular enthusiasm, but it is costing the agency some respect from the art establishment, centered primarily in New York. An article in the *Village Voice*, for example, charged the Endowment with "Balkanization of the arts" and questioned whether "quality" professional theater will be hobbled to bring art to Dry Gulch."

The answer appears to be that Dry Gulch—and the rest of the country outside the New York-dominated art establishment—will be getting more Endowment money in the coming years. The agency's five-year plan calls for a

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"greater dispersal of arts nationally." Although there will "always be preeminent arts centers," like New York, the plan says, "they are likely to become less exclusively so."

The five-year plan—the Endowment's first effort to set out its long-range goals publicly—"does not and should not dictate culture," agency spokesmen say. The Appropriations Committee investigators, however, contend that the Endowment is "charged, with the advice of the National Council on the Arts, to develop and promote a national policy for the arts." Investigators charged that the agency had "abrogated its leadership role" and allowed "various project applications submitted from the field to become a surrogate national policy."

The Endowment sees its role as one of "support for the arts and not control of the arts," the agency's rebuttal said. "The role of the Endowment has always been as a catalyst, not as an arbiter of taste, not as a dominant or domineering entity," the agency said.

The five-year plan thus attempts to avoid creating a "culture czar" or "arts baron" while still pointing toward the agency's priorities. These include "a greater emphasis on support for individual artists," a "broadening of access by the public," a "greater emphasis on arts of diverse ethnic and minority groups" and "a greater dispersal of arts nationally."

Finally, the five-year plan calls for the agency to take a "more aggressive advocacy position" in encouraging arts support from other federal agencies, state and local governments and the private sector.

The NEA's expected budget expansion would mirror the growth in the "artist labor force"—estimated to have risen 40 percent since 1970 to 125 million artists—and the growth in public appreciation of the arts. Modern dance and ballet, for example, attracted 15 million persons in 1977 while attendance at National Football League games that year was only 11.6 million.

The increasing popularity of the arts and its expanded clientele mean that the Endowment will come under even more political pressures in the coming years. "We seem to always be under attack," one staff member said. "The conservatives say we give too many grants to small theater groups that are avowedly socialist, and the leftists say we favor elitist, establishment art and are biased against anything we consider 'subversive.'" ■

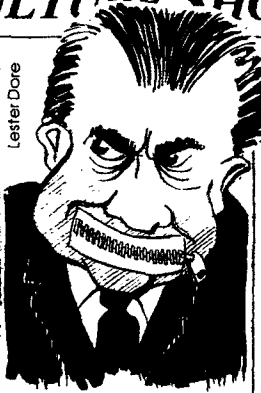
CULTURE SHOCK

LIFE CONTINUES TO IMITATE ART

Advertising Age, in a report on product licensing, notes that the greatest saleswoman of the last 20 years has been Mattel's Barbie doll. Coming a close second is Farrah Fawcett-Majors.

WORD IS OUT

Us magazine announces in its May issue that John Travolta is no longer a "hot" star.



ART IMITATES LIFE

CBS executives, in the thick of production difficulties with *Blind Ambition*, the made-for-TV version of Watgate, decided to bleep out

some "blasphemous" words that occur on the tapes.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

A recent survey in a trade journal, *Institutions*, reports that eating is one of the most popular ways to spend free time. Fifty-four percent of adults said that they eat frequently, and mostly away from home, while relaxing. In 1979, 46 billion meals and snacks will be served away from home.

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AN INTERVIEW WITH JESSICA MITFORD

"WITHOUT AN ONGOING POLITICAL MOVEMENT, NO AMOUNT OF MUCKRAKING WILL HELP VERY MUCH."

BY DAVID TALBOT

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "muck-raker" is often applied to those who have "a depraved interest in what is morally unsavoury or scandalous."

"I fear that does rather describe me," writes Jessica Mitford in the introduction to her latest book, *POISON PENMANSHIP: THE GENTLE ART OF MUCKRAKING*. *POISON PENMANSHIP*, published May 21 by Alfred A. Knopf, is a collection of Mitford's magazine pieces from the past 20 years. The articles examine a variety of "unsavoury and scandalous" American institutions, from Bennett Cerf's Writers School (which Mitford helped drive out of business) to the California penal system (which has proved to be a more formidable enemy).

Mitford first gained notoriety as a muckraker in 1963 with the publication of *THE AMERICAN WAY OF DEATH*, a hilarious expose of the funeral industry. She followed this with two more sober but equally fascinating books about the anti-draft movement (*THE TRIAL OF DR. SPOCK*) and prisons (*KIND AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT*).

Mitford has also written two witty autobiographies: *DAUGHTERS AND REBELS*, the story of her peculiar, upper class upbringing in England; and *A FINE OLD CONFLICT*, an account of her life in the Oakland chapter of the Communist Party during the '40s and '50s.

A FINE OLD CONFLICT took the point of view that Communist Party members were brave and principled people—if at times a little ridiculous and excessively doctrinaire—who were fighting for noble goals. What sort of reaction did you expect from the press?

Well, I think I should speak a little at first about the book's point of view. From my own experiences, as a person who grew up mainly in the '30s, the Communists were the only ones who were doing any-

thing—in Europe I'm speaking about now, before I left for America. In other words, the hunger marches of the unemployed and so forth were led by the Communists. It's true that the Labour Party (in England), or big sections of it, swung behind a lot of it. But the CP seemed like the stalwart backbone of everything I held important as a teenager and later.

You proudly proclaim your past Party membership, and the literary establishment is not known for its sympathies toward communism. You must have been prepared for a hostile reaction to the book.

I was. And I was rather sad when it didn't develop, because I like a good scrap. But I must say I plotted the people to send advance copies to with some care. I consulted people like [New York writer] Nora Sayre and told them, "The main thing is we don't want this wretched book to fall into the hands of the Cold War crowd—the Hilton Kramers and so on." We must have succeeded because it was amazingly well received. I suppose that people found the book amusing, thank God.

Now Lillian Hellman's book, *Scoundrel Time*, was an incredible best-seller. It was on the best-seller list for a long, long time—which, alas, never happened to *A Fine Old Conflict*. Its sales were very disappointing. I was fascinated with *Scoundrel Time*. She and I came from opposite sides of the fence—the fence being membership in the CP. She wasn't ever a member. But I adore her book—I love the way it's written.

Yes, as I said in the book, I was brought up on charges a couple of times for making jokes in club meetings. So I stopped doing that because I didn't want to be expelled. There was a pamphlet that was absolutely required reading in those days. It was called "Mastering Bolshevism" by Stalin. I was the lit director and I sort of announced it as "Bolstering Menshevism"—I think that was one of the occasions when I was brought up on charges.

But the point I tried to make in the book was that there were lots of people in the Party who were extremely witty and humorous. There were the rigid, humorless types, and then there was the marvelous sort that one would have great fun with.

You began your writing career fairly late in life. You published your first piece at the age of 40. How does a middle-aged woman without a degree to her name suddenly establish herself as a journalist?

Well, in my case I was pretty much chased out of everything by the FBI. When I was finally fired from my stupid job in the *San Francisco Chronicle* ad department, I was 38 years old. My children were getting older, you know, and I was approaching middle age and I had absolutely no skills.

The only skills I had were those learned in the Civil Rights Congress, writing protest leaflets and organizing demonstrations. I was at home, everybody going off in the morning—the kids to school, Bob [Treuhart, her husband] to the office—and me with absolutely nothing to do. So I decided the only thing to do was to start writing, which requires no prior education, fortunately.

Tillie Olsen's book *SILENCES* explores why writers, women writers in particular, don't write. She discusses the burdens of motherhood. Did motherhood delay your debut as a writer?

No, absolutely not. Because for years—and the poor children were quite neglected while they were growing up—I was a woman of action and not of writing. In other words, I was in organizations like the Civil Rights Congress; you can't imagine how much time it took up. One would get to the office in the morning, come back for a brief supper with the kids, and then go off to a meeting. At this stage in my life, I can't imagine going through that sort of day, which was a 20-hour grind.

I never regarded myself as a writer in those years. My first husband, Esmond [Romilly], was the writer in the family. I had never done any sort of writing, and I never would have if the FBI hadn't blocked all other possibilities. Contrary to what Tillie says...by the way, her hus-

band is an absolute angel. He was just like Bob, helping with everything. And Tillie was also an activist. In other words, she wasn't a household drudge, because I used to know her in those days.

And as for *Silences*—and I read that book with great care—I sometimes wonder just how much there is to it. For example, look at the Bronte sisters, who were incredibly talented people: would they, absent the amazing horrors they lived through, ever have been such good writers? Now what does Tillie want? Does she want to have the talented 18-year-old put into a padded cell with all the comforts and luxuries and a typewriter? Or does she want that person to live, and write about their living?

How has your political perspective shaped your writing?

If it hadn't been for whatever I've been able to absorb of Marxism and the Marxist method of looking at the world—which is the *only* way, to my way of thinking, that makes any sense out of the world. If you have any other viewpoint, you get lost somewhere. Now not that I consider myself a Marxist. I'd be bragging to say that. But what I mean is that whatever I've been able to jot down and understand of that method has stood me in incredible good stead, particularly in writing the prison book.

Over the past decade there have been x number of books published about prisons, with proposals for reform. For instance, Ramsey Clark's absolutely erroneous best-seller, *Crime in America*. My God, that's full of terribly superficial judgments! He didn't know anything, really. Karl Menninger is another one; his book is called *The Crime of Punishment*, available everywhere in paperback. Menninger is all for treatment of prisoners, but he never looked behind the treatment. He extolled the California prison system as the best-financed and most humane in the country.

Now, as soon as you begin to unpeel that onion a bit and look at it from a Marxist viewpoint—who's in prison, what is treatment, who profits from treatment—you see the convicts are less well off in the California system than they are in the chain gang, frankly. So this means if one looks at things from a class viewpoint, it's far easier to sort it all out and it's far easier to approach things with a skeptical eye.

Why do you hesitate to call yourself a Marxist if you view society from a class viewpoint?

Because in my view a Marxist is a rather high term of great regard. It's like calling yourself a philosopher or something. So I wouldn't put myself in that high a category.

Robert Scheer, a journalist you much admire, was quoted in *MORE* magazine saying that journalists should stop at nothing to get an important story; the public's right to know comes first.

I can see no point in being frightfully ethical and pussyfooting about everything. I mean, what is lying? Is it lying if I send in for a subscription to *Mortuary Management* (a funeral trade publication) under an assumed name? Some people might say, "Oh, yes, you're a liar. You should have put down your real name, even though they may not have sent you the magazine." Well, I think that's ridiculous. I'm in favor of using everything you can to find out the facts. Why not?

Some people say muckraking focuses attention on disconnected social problems, and leads people to believe that if these individual problems can be solved—usually be more effective government regulation—then all will be well.

That's the problem with my field of endeavor. As I say in the preface to *Poison Penmanship*, muckraking at the very best can lead to a few reforms that merely gloss over the basic flaws of society.

I do it because I enjoy it. I can't give any overriding social reason. Although coupled with a popular movement it can be jolly effective. The point here, which I don't think I emphasized sufficiently in the book, is that without an ongoing political movement, no amount of railing or writing is going to help very much. ■